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REYNOLDS HISTORICAL
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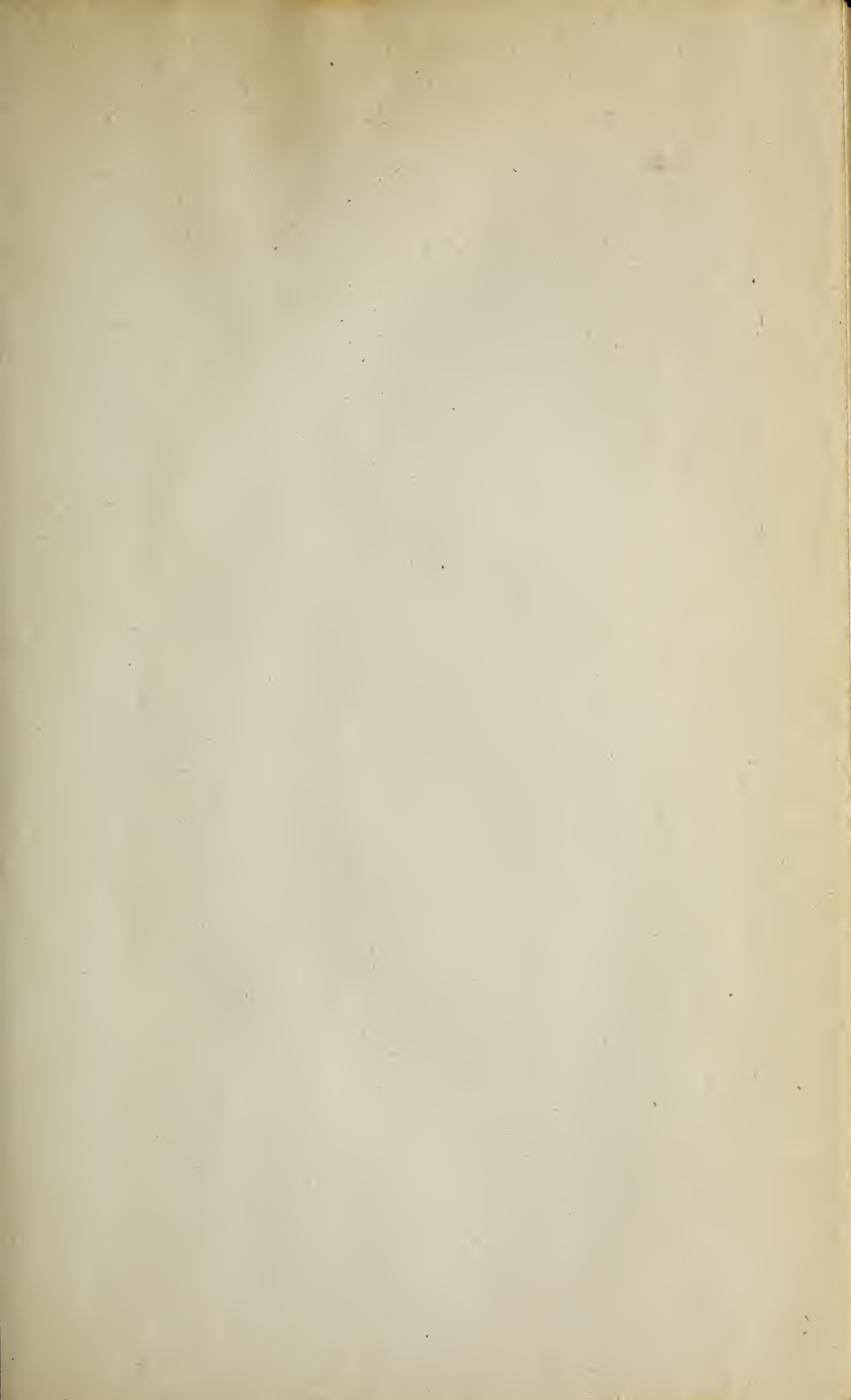
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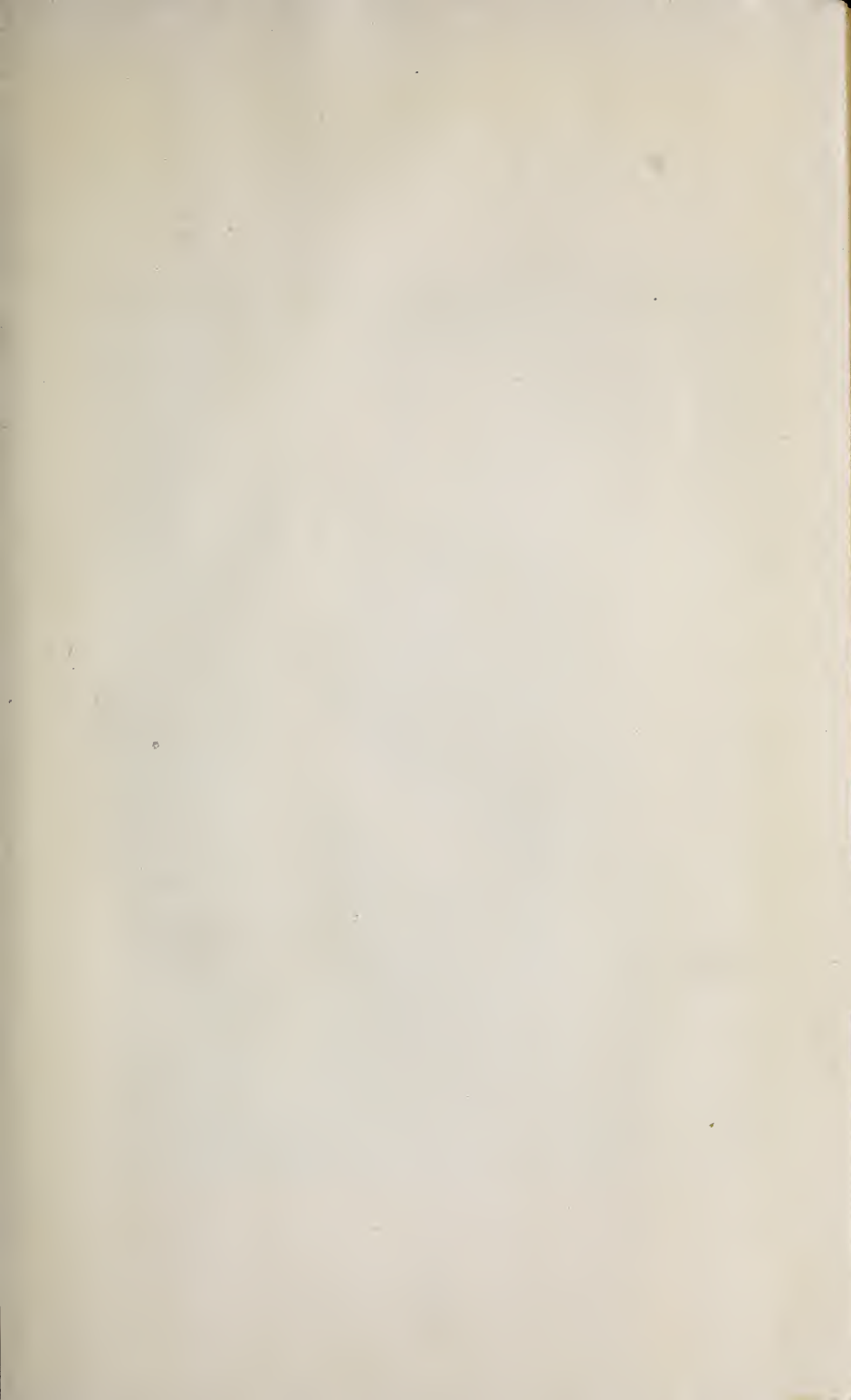
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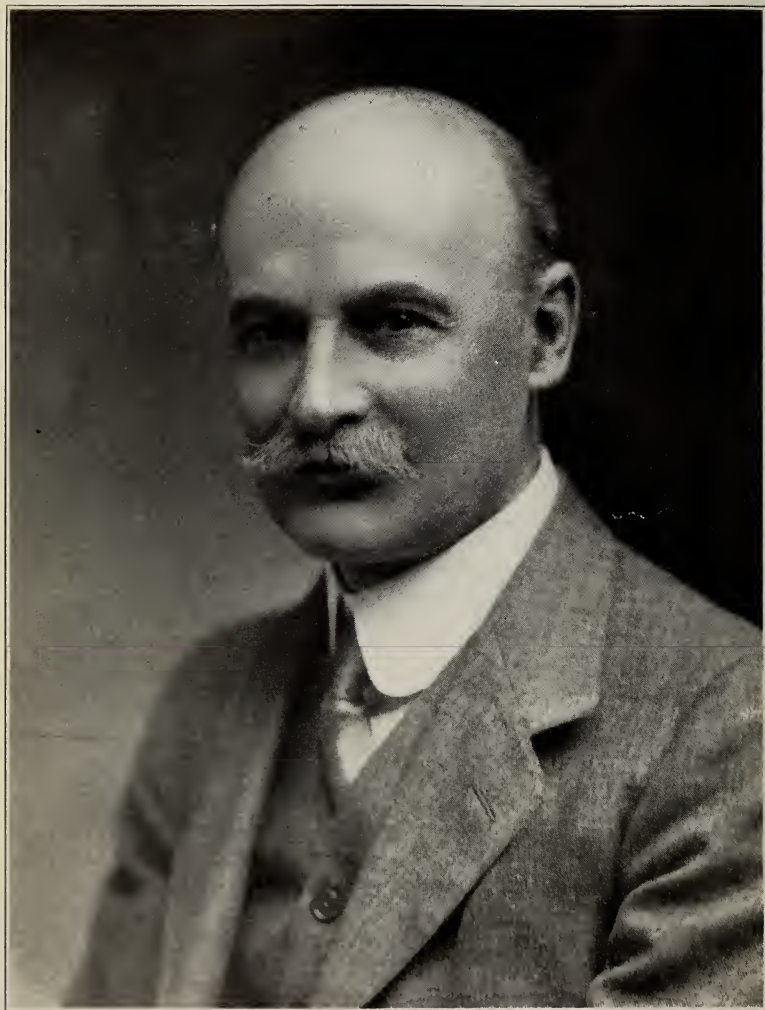
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WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

AT ITS

SIXTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

Held October 22, 1914



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1914

Madison
Published by the Society
1915

Published by Authority of Law

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Note: The title of the article on Henry Hay's Journal, as printed on pages 4 and 208, should read "Henry Hay's Journal from Detroit to the Miami River."

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Officers, 1914-15

President

HON. EMIL BAENSCH Manitowoc

Vice-Presidents

HON. BURR W. JONES, M. A. Madison
 HON. JOHN LUCHSINGER Monroe
 HON. B. F. McMILLAN McMillan
 MOST REV. S. G. MESSMER Milwaukee
 HON. WILLIAM J. STARR, LL. B. Eau Claire
 HON. JOHN B. WINSLOW, LL. D. Madison

Superintendent

M. M. QUAIFE, Ph. D. Madison

Treasurer

HON. LUCIEN S. HANKS Madison

Curators, Ex Officio

HON. EMANUEL L. PHILIPP Governor
 HON. JOHN S. DONALD Secretary of State
 HON. HENRY JOHNSON State Treasurer

Curators, Elective

Term expires at annual meeting in 1915

THOMAS E. BRITTINGHAM, ESQ.	COL. HIRAM HAYES
HENRY C. CAMPBELL, ESQ.	REV. PATRICK B. KNOX
WILLIAM K. COFFIN, M. S.	MAJ. FRANK W. OAKLEY
RICHARD T. ELY, LL. D.	ARTHUR L. SANBORN, LL. B.
LUCIEN S. HANKS, ESQ.	E. RAY STEVENS, LL. B.
NILS P. HAUGEN, LL. B.	WILLIAM W. WIGHT, M. A.

Term expires at annual meeting in 1916

JOHN A. AYLWARD, LL. B.	WILLIAM A. P. MORRIS, B. A.
VICTOR COFFIN, PH. D.	DANA C. MUNRO, PH. D.
LUCIUS C. COLMAN, B. A.	ROBERT G. SIEBECKER, LL. B.
MATTHEW S. DUDGEON, M. A.	WILLIAM J. STARR, LL. B.
CARL R. FISH, PH. D.	EDWARD B. STEENSLAND, ESQ.
BENJAMIN F. McMILLAN, ESQ.	CHARLES R. VAN HISE, LL. D.

Officers of the Society, 1914-15

Term expires at annual meeting in 1917

RASMUS B. ANDERSON, LL. D.	JOHN LUCHSINGER, ESQ.
EMIL BAENSCH, ESQ.	MOST REV. S. G. MESSMER
CHARLES N. BROWN, LL. B.	J. HOWARD PALMER, ESQ.
HARRY E. COLE, PH. B.	JOHN B. PARKINSON, M. A.
FREDERIC K. CONOVER, LL. B.	FREDERIC L. PAXSON, PH. D.
BURR W. JONES, M. A.	WILLIAM A. SCOTT, LL. D.

Executive Committee

The thirty-six Curators, the Superintendent, the Governor, the Secretary of State, and the State Treasurer (forty in all) constitute the Executive Committee.

Standing Committees (of Executive Committee)

Library—Paxson (chairman), Dudgeon, Knox, Stevens, and Superintendent (ex officio).

Art Gallery and Museum—Conover (chairman), Van Hise, Ely, Brittingham, and Superintendent (ex officio).

Printing and Publication—Fish (chairman), Dudgeon, Paxson, Scott, and Superintendent (ex officio).

Finance—Morris (chairman), Brittingham, Brown, Palmer, and Scott.

Advisory Committee (ex officio)—Paxson, Conover, Fish, and Morris.

Special Committees (of the Society)

Relations with State University—M. M. Quaife (chairman), Haugen, Jones, Oakley, and Siebecker.

Building of Northwest Wing—Munro (chairman), Brown, Dudgeon, Quaife, and Steensland. Walter M. Smith, secretary; Edward Tough, deputy architect.

The Library Staff

Superintendent

M. M. QUAIFE, PH. D.

Assistant Superintendent

ANNIE AMELIA NUNNS, B. A.

In charge of Divisions

(In order of seniority of service)

MARY STUART FOSTER, B. L.	— <i>Reference</i>
IVA ALICE WELSH, B. L.	— <i>Catalogue</i>
LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG, PH. D.	— <i>Research</i>
CHARLES EDWARD BROWN	— <i>Museum</i>
LILLIAN JANE BEECROFT, B. L.	— <i>Newspaper</i>
MABEL CLARE WEAKS, M. A.	— <i>Manuscript</i>
ANNA WELLS EVANS	— <i>Public Document</i>
ORA IONEENE SMITH, B. A.	— <i>Order</i>

Assistants

(In order of seniority of service)

ANNA JACOBSEN, B. L.	— <i>Catalogue</i>
EDNA COUPER ADAMS, B. L.	— <i>Reference</i>
ELEANORE EUNICE LOTHROP, B. A.	— <i>Superintendent's Secretary</i>
FREDERICK MERK, B. A.	— <i>Research</i>
ROBERT BERIGAN	— <i>Public Document</i>
ESTHER DEBOOS, B. A.	— <i>Reference</i>
FLORENCE ELIZABETH DUNTON, B. A.	— <i>Catalogue</i>
HELEN LEONARD GILMAN, B. A.	— <i>Museum</i>
PAULINE MERRY BUELL, B. A.	— <i>Reference</i>
MARY OLIVE SIMPSON, B. A.	— <i>Reference</i>
ELLA RYAN	— <i>Public Document</i>
JOHN KAETHER	— <i>Newspaper</i>
JOSEPHINE ALLYN, B. A.	— <i>Reference</i>
HESTER HARPER, B. A.	— <i>Reference</i>
MARJORIE GERTRUDE PARK, B. A.	— <i>Order</i>

Library Staff

Care Takers

(Under State civil service law)

MAGNUS NELSON	—Head Jan. and Gen. Mechanic
IRVING ROBSON	—Janitor and General Mechanic
MARTIN LYONS	—Janitor and General Mechanic
WALTER G. POST	—Janitor and General Mechanic
BENNIE BUTTS	—Office Messenger
TILLIE GUNKEL	—Housekeeper
BARBARA BRISBOIS, GERTRUDE NELSON,	—Housemaids
MARY SCHMELZER, BERTHA SCH-	
WOGGLER, EMMA ZEHNPFENNIG	
WALTER J. SARGENT	—Elevator Attendant
MRS. DAVID HARTSHORN, IDA STEF-	—Cloak Room Attendants
FEN, THOMAS GOODNIGHT, PAUL	
BROWN	

MAIN LIBRARY OPEN—Daily, except Saturdays, Sundays, holidays, and University vacations; 7:45 A. M. to 10 P. M.

Saturdays: 7:45 A. M. to 9 P. M.

Holidays and University vacations, as per special announcements.

DEPARTMENT LIBRARIES (Map, Manuscript, and Illustration; Newspaper Files) OPEN—Daily, with above exceptions, 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.

MUSEUM OPEN—Daily, except Sundays and holidays, 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. Sundays, holidays, and evenings, as per special announcements.

The Sixty-Second Annual Meeting

Thursday, October 22, 1914

The business session of the sixty-second annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was held in the Academy of Sciences room of the State Historical Library Building at Madison, on Thursday afternoon, October 22, 1914, commencing at four o'clock; an open session was held the same evening in the new assembly room, commencing at eight o'clock. In the afternoon the Executive Committee also held its annual meeting.

Business Session

In the absence of President Baensch, Vice-President Luchsinger took the chair at four o'clock in the afternoon.

Present: Messrs. A. C. Beckwith, C. N. Brown, C. E. Buell, H. E. Cole, F. K. Conover, M. S. Dudgeon, C. R. Fish, R. J. Flint, L. S. Hanks, N. P. Haugen, C. S. Hean, H. R. Holand, G. B. Hopkins, P. B. Knox, Edward Kremers, J. H. A. Lacher, John Luchsinger, D. C. Munro, F. W. Oakley, J. B. Parkinson, F. L. Paxson, G. C. Sellery, W. M. Smith, E. B. Steensland, W. C. Stone, W. F. Whyte, J. G. Zehnter—27.

Official Reports

The superintendent, on behalf of the Executive Committee submitted its annual report, which was adopted. (See Appendix for text.)

In the absence of Chairman Morris of the Committee on Finance, the superintendent presented the report of this committee, approving the report of Treasurer L. S. Hanks, for the year ending June 30, 1914. The report was adopted. (See Appendix for text.)

Wisconsin Historical Society

Reports of Auxiliaries

Annual reports were received from the Society's several auxiliary societies, and they were ordered printed in the *Proceedings*. (See Appendix for text.)

Curators Elected

Messrs. Fish, Oakley, and Dudgeon were appointed a committee on the nomination of curators and reported in favor of the following, who were unanimously elected to succeed themselves, for the term ending at the annual meeting in 1917:

Emil Baensch, of Manitowoc; H. E. Cole, of Baraboo; John Luchsinger, of Monroe; S. G. Messmer, of Milwaukee; and R. B. Anderson, C. N. Brown, F. K. Conover, B. W. Jones, J. H. Palmer, J. E. Parkinson, F. L. Paxson, and W. A. Scott, of Madison.

It was moved and carried that this election be by ballot and the superintendent cast one vote for each of the gentlemen elected.

Memorial Committee

The secretary of the Memorial Committee, Prof. F. L. Paxson, reported that the memorial volume to Doctor Thwaites had been published and distributed since the last meeting.

The meeting thereupon stood adjourned.

Executive Committee Meeting

Thursday, October 22, 1914

The annual meeting of the Executive Committee was held in the Academy of Sciences room in the afternoon, succeeding the Society's open meeting.

Vice-President Luchsinger took the chair.

Present: Messrs. Brown, Conover, Cole, Dudgeon, Fish, Hanks, Haugen, Knox, Luchsinger, Munro, Oakley, Parkinson, Paxson, and Steensland—14.

Portrait Committee

On motion of Professor Fish, it was voted that a committee be appointed by the chair with authority to procure for the Society

Sixty-Second Annual Meeting

a suitable portrait of the late Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites. The committee is authorized to solicit such subscriptions as it sees fit, and to draw on the private funds of the Society for any balance that may be needed.

The chair appointed as said committee, Messrs. Fish, Hanks, and Stevens.

New Members Elected

It was moved and carried that the elections of the following persons to membership be confirmed, and the superintendent was instructed to cast one ballot for each.

Life

Evansville—William P. McDermott.

Madison—Rockwell J. Flint, Ralph W. Owen.

Watertown—William C. Stone.

Chicago, Ill.—Otto L. Schmidt.

Pawnee, Okla.—Redmond S. Cole.

Annual

Black River Falls—Merlin Hull.

Janesville—Harry E. Ranous.

Madison—Eugene H. Byrne, Harry H. Wood.

Prairie du Sac—Mrs. Mary J. Atwood.

Richland Center—David G. James.

Waterloo—H. A. Whipple.

Cedar Rapids, Iowa—Royal H. Holbrook.

Chicago, Ill.—George F. Steele.

Oak Park, Ill.—W. H. Stennett.

House Bequest

The superintendent presented an oral report concerning the House bequest. On motion of Professor Paxson, it was voted that the publication committee of the Society direct the expenditure of the fund, subject to the terms of the bequest.

Exchanges

The superintendent made a report to the Society on the situation with respect to exchanges of State documents. On motion of Mr. Steensland it was voted that a committee of three be appointed by the chair with power to confer with the trustees of

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Wisconsin Historical Society

the State Library on the matter, and conjointly with the trustees of said Library to promote such legislation as may be deemed proper.

The chair appointed as said committee the following: Messrs. Steensland, Scott, and Stevens.

The meeting thereupon adjourned.

Open Session

The open session of the Society was held in the new assembly room of the Museum, commencing at 8 P. M., with President Baensch in the chair.

On opening the meeting President Baensch spoke as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen: I was not present at the last annual meeting, and was not informed of my election until later, and this is therefore the first opportunity I have had to express appreciation of the honor then conferred upon me. The intimate connection of Dr. Thwaites with that action and the tragic circumstances which transformed that meeting into a funeral day for him, have invested the position with the character of a sacred legacy.

My acquaintance with Mr. Thwaites dates from the time he was editor of the *State Journal* and myself a student on the Hill. From then until the close of his life, his helpful friendship was a tonic and an inspiration, opening up new views and making life more interesting. And thousands of others feel and voice like sentiment—what better monument can any man wish?

His scholarship has been reviewed and praised by one best qualified to judge. His faithfulness as a servant of the people has been officially recognized. His administrative ability and the esprit de corps he instilled among the staff met most successful test when, at his death, the good ship sailed steadily on in charge of the first mate, and when, months later, the new captain came aboard, it needed but a glance at the chart to find the course. Remembrance of his personality, of his theories and his plans, will ever remain with us as a guide and mentor in the future progress of the Society.

As an adjunct of the University the position of the Society is fixed and permanent. As a great storehouse of material for the historian and the scholar, its value is widely recognized and its equipment frequently utilized. Educationally and professionally, therefore, the Society is firmly rooted.

These complaisant cogitations may, however, be slightly jarred by that notion or bias which sometimes rudely shatters the ideals of sup-

Sixty-Second Annual Meeting

porters of the public library system, namely, that these institutions are of use and benefit only to "them literary fellers". But as those within that category have already enlisted voluntarily, tactical policy points the mustering efforts at those on the sidelines, even, if need be, to a degree of diplomatic drafting. Luckily the plan of the Wisconsin Historical Society contemplates that it be the people's society, seeking to extend its membership into the remotest hamlet within the State, a plan which it has consistently followed.

Its roll has been slow in unfolding, for the average American does not look upon history as of any practical value. He has not yet learned to use it as a vade mecum wherein he can find the best rules for solving the problems of the present. And he is far from realizing its great value and influence as a nationalizing factor. Then too, our early education has been somewhat neglected, for we of the rank and file leave the little red schoolhouse fairly well informed as to the New England colonies, but knowing mighty little of the story of Wisconsin.

Professor Ely advises elementary schools to give information as to local taxation, to look into local charities, to investigate local labor conditions, all as preparatory to a study of political economy. A similar method might be applied to the teaching of history. Never having had any pedagogical instruction nor experience I am venturing upon thin ice in suggesting that to begin with local environment and gradually enter upon broader fields, seems more natural than to begin with the history of the world and narrow the horizon until it touches the township. The risk of this suggestion is lessened, however, when we look at results and call as an expert witness Prof. Albert B. Hart, who declares that "public men know a great many things about the history of the United States which never happened".

But in spite of our deficient training and the general inactivity we will find that local history is on a line of little resistance, as the auxiliary societies in Wisconsin can testify. In my home county we found no difficulty in inducing all sorts and conditions of people to prepare articles on the olden times; a banker tracing the growth of local industries, a lake captain that of shipbuilding, an accountant publishing a history of this city, a wholesale grocer a history of the county. The enthusiasm of a physician became so contagious as to result in the erection of a monument to an Indian chief, at the dedication of which an assemblage of over five thousand people gathered on a hillside in the country. As a net result, Manitowoc County is numerically strong in the membership of the State Society.

During a business trip East last summer I had several days of leisure and spent them in roaming the Mohawk Valley, where an active interest in local history has been highly developed. At Little Falls the editor and the fire chief are proud possessors of interesting relics and valuable documents of Revolutionary days; at Herkimer is a flourishing society; at Syracuse a large room in the public library is devoted to

Wisconsin Historical Society

local history; and at Utica a splendid building houses the collections of the local society. Along the country roads and in the villages and cities, you find markers designating the site of an old church or of some historical event. The sixty-mile march of the militia, which ended in the bloody battle of Oriskany, is traced by granite boulders placed every two miles, each with its bronze tablet setting forth the particular incident which it marks. What impressed me was that this activity not only added to the attractiveness of the localities, but gave the people a solidarity which was pleasing and inspiring.

In this connection it is most gratifying to report and refer to the legacy of \$500, bequeathed to this Society during the past year by Mrs. Emily House, of Dodge County, which amount is to be used for work in connection with the history of that county. It is an encouraging sign that our people are beginning to appreciate the importance of local history, and by materially aiding local research, give it that permanence of form, which will insure a truthful and unbiased history of the State and its people.

The following papers were presented by title and ordered to be printed in the *Proceedings* for the year.

James Reed: First Permanent Settler in Trempealeau County and Founder of Trempealeau, by Eben D. Pierce, M. D., of Trempealeau.

The Labor Movement in Wisconsin During the Civil War, by Frederick Merk, Research Assistant, Wisconsin State Historical Society.

The Taverns and Stages of Early Wisconsin, by J. H. A. Lacher, of Waukesha.

A Semi-historical Account of the War of the Winnebago and the Foxes, by Paul Radin, Ph. D., Geological Survey, Ottawa.

A Narrative of Life on the Old Frontier, by M. M. Quaife, Superintendent of the Society.

The chairman then presented the speaker of the evening, Mr. Worthington C. Ford, editor of the Massachusetts Historical Society, who delivered an address on "The Treaty of Ghent—and After". The interest to the audience of Mr. Ford's masterly treatment of this subject was heightened by the light thrown by the speaker upon the conflict now raging in the Old World.

At the conclusion of Mr. Ford's address, an informal reception was tendered to those in attendance at the meeting. Punch was served, and an opportunity was afforded for social intercourse and for viewing the exhibits of the Museum.

Appendix

Executive Committee's Report

(Submitted to the Society at the sixty-second annual meeting,
October 22, 1914)

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin was founded in 1849, a year after the admission of the State into the Union. Five years later Dr. Lyman C. Draper was called to Madison to preside over its destinies. From that time until October 22, 1913, almost two full generations, but one change in the leadership of the Society occurred. Barely is an institution favored with two successive administrations equal in duration and ability to those of Doctor Draper and Doctor Thwaites. Youngest by years of the states of the old Northwest, the leadership of Wisconsin among western states in the field of historical endeavor has long been generally recognized. The career of the State Historical Society under the wise direction of Doctor Draper and Doctor Thwaites would seem to demonstrate that, as well in the affairs of historical societies as of contending armies, quality of leadership is a potent factor. Nine months ago the choice of the curators for a successor to Doctor Thwaites in the superintendency fell upon the writer of these lines. The work has been undertaken with a full realization of the magnitude of the task of carrying forward the standards established by Draper and Thwaites. There is excellent warrant for modesty of promise on the part of one who is in the act of putting on his armor: it may perhaps be permissible, however, to express the belief that any defects discoverable in the quality of leadership displayed by the new superintendent will not be ascribable to lack of zeal.

The report which follows deals with the year ending September 30, 1914, with the exception of the financial sections, which pertain to the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914.

Executive Committee's Report

Summary

The Society now has 757 members. Of this number 260 are life and 497 are annual members. On September 30, 1913, the total membership was 725, divided into 255 life and 470 annual members. During the year death has claimed eleven members of the Society, including its superintendent, Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites. The private funds of the Society now total \$85,970.57, a gain during the year of \$12,332.39. Of this sum \$3,352.94 represents the unexpended portion of the income of the private funds for the preceding year. The remainder represents the portion of the bequest of Mrs. Kittie E. V. Hollister, which had been paid in at the time of making the treasurer's annual report, amounting to \$8,979.45. During the year 10,934 titles have been added to the Library; 5,084 of these are books, 5,588 are pamphlets, and 262 are maps and engravings. The Library now contains 375,321 titles, of which 184,834 are books, and 190,487 are pamphlets. During the year the new northwest wing of the building, under construction for several years, has been completed and occupied. In connection therewith the Library has undergone a somewhat extensive rearrangement. The changes made are described with some detail in the following sections of the report.

Financial Statement, for Year Ending June 30, 1914

State Appropriations

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914, the Society received \$70,948 from the State in direct standing appropriations made under section 172.28 of the statutes. Of this sum, \$54,353 was granted for administrative and operating expenses, under subsection 1; \$8,195 under subsection 2, for insurance for the biennium ending June 30, 1913; \$200 under subsection 3, for property repairs; and \$8,200 under subsection 4, for books, furniture, and permanent accessions.

The following statement shows the condition of these funds on July 1, 1914:

Wisconsin Historical Society

SUBSECTION 1

RECEIPTS

Unexpended balance in State treasury, July 1, 1913	.	\$565.15
State appropriation for year ending June 30, 1914	.	54,353.00
From University of Wisconsin, balance due on joint account		421.76
		<hr/>
Total	.	\$55,339.91

DISBURSEMENTS

Services	.	\$36,936.43	
Traveling expenses	.	210.79	
Supplies	.	946.10	
Printing and illustration	.	1,789.99	
Postage	.	393.40	
Telegraph	.	4.42	
Freight and drayage	.	113.14	
Express	.	438.53	
Books, furniture, etc.	.	942.31	
Property repairs	.	108.02	
Insurance, June 30, 1914	.	4,014.00	45,897.13
Unexpended balance in State treasury, July 1, 1914	.	9,442.78	
		<hr/>	
			\$55,339.91

SUBSECTION 2

RECEIPTS

State appropriation for year ending June 30, 1914	.	\$8,195.00
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DISBURSEMENTS

Insurance for biennium ending June 30, 1913	.	\$8,195.00
---	---	------------

SUBSECTION 3

RECEIPTS

State appropriation for year ending June 30, 1914	.	\$200.00
---	---	----------

DISBURSEMENTS

Property repairs	.	\$200.00
------------------	---	----------

SUBSECTION 4

RECEIPTS

Unexpended balance in State treasury, July 1, 1913	.	\$247.82
State appropriation for year ending June 30, 1914	.	8,200.00
		<hr/>

Total	.	\$8,447.82
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Executive Committee's Report

DISBURSEMENTS

Books periodicals, furniture, and Museum ex-	
hibts	\$5,055.63
Binding	3,392.19
	<hr/>
	\$8,447.82

Some explanatory comment on the foregoing figures seems pertinent. Those who are in the habit of comparing the succeeding annual reports of the Society with each other will doubtless be struck by the fact that the present statement shows receipts from the State during the year of \$70,948 as against a total of \$36,000 the preceding year. This would indeed be a striking increase, did it actually mean that the income of the Society at the hands of the State had been almost doubled in a single year. In fact the larger part of the increase shown by the figures is only apparent; the remainder is ascribable to increasing needs on the part of the Society.

Heretofore the Society has been granted its printing, binding, stationery, postage, outgoing expressage, and telegraph and telephone charges as allowances, apart from the stated annual appropriations. The action of the Legislature of 1913 in putting the various departments of the State government on a budget basis, swept away these allowances. The items which they represent are now paid by the Society out of its annual appropriations. In other words, the items of expense mentioned above, while paid by the State in the past, have never before appeared in the annual financial statement of the Society.

As nearly as can be determined from the methods of accounting in vogue, the cost to the State of these allowances to the Society for the fiscal year 1912-13 (the last before the installation of the budget system) was, in round numbers, \$11,500. In comparing the income of the Society at the hands of the State for the year just closed with its income for the preceding year, this sum should, of course, first be added to the \$36,000, which under the old system of accounting appeared to constitute the entire legislative appropriation to the Society.

Again, the item of insurance appears for the first time in the present report. In connection with the installation of the new system of State insurance of State property, the Society was assessed \$4,014 insurance for the current year and \$8,195 for

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the two years preceding. This latter sum the Legislature provided for with a special appropriation, while provision for the former was made in the new Society budget. It is obvious, therefore, that the \$12,209 for insurance, never before an item of expense to the Society, represents a seeming rather than a real increase in the amount received by it from the State. Subtracting this amount from \$70,948, the appropriation for the year just closed, and adding \$11,500 to the formal appropriation of \$36,000 for the preceding year, we get \$58,739 and \$47,500, respectively. The difference between these two sums, \$11,239, represents, obviously, the real increase in the legislative appropriation.

This increase may be explained on the ground of increasing needs on the part of the Society. The building of the new stack wing has entailed, of course, a heavy increase in the cost of maintenance of the Library building. Its care required the addition of one janitor and one housemaid to the service staff, at an aggregate annual salary of about \$1,300. The increase in the cost of heating, lighting, and the annual repair of the building will also be heavy, but there are, as yet, no definite figures available on these heads.

The cost of upkeep of the new wing aside, the Society is a growing institution. Of this all Wisconsin citizens may well be proud, but it follows as a matter of course that the increase in the annual cost of maintenance keeps pace with its growth in other directions. Furthermore, the Society is not immune from the necessity of sharing the increase in prices generally which has constituted so notable a feature of the economic life of the last two decades. The income of the Society is expended either for services or for books and supplies. With the ever-mounting cost of living, especially marked in Madison, salaries that may have been fair a decade or more ago become pitifully inadequate. Increases must be made on this head, therefore, from time to time. It scarcely requires statement probably, that for the Society as for other purchasers, the cost of supplies consumed has been for many years steadily increasing. The rocket-like ascent in recent years of prices for printing and binding is especially noteworthy.

On the side of the Library staff, the superintendent believes that if the Society is to maintain its position of leadership in

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the field of Western history additions to the research staff are imperative. As yet, however, no additions have been made. In conclusion it should be observed that the item for services includes, in addition to the payments for the current year the salaries of the Library staff for June, 1913, amounting to \$1,814.16. It follows that instead of the apparent balance of \$565.15 on July 1, 1913, there was in reality a deficit of \$1,249.01; while at the close of the year July 1, 1914, the Society had a balance in the State treasury of \$9,442.78. If the coming Legislature will continue the standing appropriations agreed upon by the Legislature of 1913, the Society will be in position to develop materially, during the coming biennium its research and publishing activities.

Hollister and House Bequests

The Executive Committee's report for 1913 contained an account of the Hollister bequest. Since that report was written, the administration of the estate of Colonel Hollister has progressed to a point where it seems likely nothing will be realized from it for the Society. The treasurer's annual report includes for the first time the Hollister Pharmaceutical Library Fund. It consists of the proceeds of the portion of the estate of Mrs. Kittie E. V. Hollister which was willed to the Society for the establishment of a pharmaceutical library. Up to July 1, 1914, the Society had received for the principal of the fund cash to the amount of \$8,651.03; on this \$318.42 interest was earned during the year, making the total amount of the fund on July 1, \$8,979.45. In addition to this the Society has received notes and other evidences of value aggregating \$3,553.58. One-half of the income from this fund is to be added annually to the principal until the latter shall have become ten times as great as the original bequest. The remaining income is to be devoted each year to the establishment of a pharmaceutical library.

It will be seen from the foregoing that in course of time the Society will become possessed of a splendid fund, the income from which is to be devoted to the upbuilding of a pharmaceutical library. Meanwhile, the question of ways and means of realizing the testator's desire concerning the disposition of the portion of income to be spent yearly presses upon the Society.

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The superintendent has already given much consideration to the matter. A series of conferences with Doctor Kremers, head of the School of Pharmacy of the University of Wisconsin, has resulted in the formulation, tentatively, of the plan to devote the income available for the present to the reprinting of rare and valuable works in the field of pharmaceutical history and development. The editions thus printed may be used, by way of conducting exchanges, to build up in the Historical Library, a pharmaceutical department. The executor of Mrs. Hollister's estate has rendered a legal opinion to the effect that this project is consonant with the provisions of the bequest. The library of the School of Pharmacy of the University, most of which is housed in the building of the Historical Society, is believed to be one of the best pharmaceutical libraries in America. This being the case, it would seem a useless expenditure of money and effort to attempt to build up a second, and to a large extent duplicate collection as a department of the Historical Library. This consideration aside, such a collection would have little pertinency as a department of the Historical Library. The plan proposed will obviate, it is believed, both the objections suggested above, and will, at the same time make possible the performance by the Society, through its administration of the Hollister bequest, of a distinctly unique and valuable service to the cause of medical and pharmaceutical history and literature.

By the will of Mrs. Emily House of Reeseville, Wisconsin, who died during the year, the Society becomes the owner of a valuable collection of archeological materials gathered by this lady in the vicinity of her home in Dodge County during the past twenty years. The collection contains about 2,500 specimens, consisting of series of axes, hammers, pipes, gorgets, banner stones, discoidals, arrow heads, spear points, knives, scrapers, and other aboriginal implements. The restricted area from which the specimens were obtained adds to the value of the collection for students of Wisconsin Indian history and archeology. At Mrs. House's request the collection is to be known as the Martin Harder Memorial Collection, in honor of her father, who was a pioneer settler of Dodge County.

In addition to the archeological collection Mrs. House bequeathed to the Society the sum of \$500 in money, "to be used

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for investigations pertinent to the history and antiquities of the county of Dodge and State of Wisconsin."

Although no money has yet come into the hands of the Society's treasurer, it is proper to make mention here of the fact that the late superintendent, Doctor Thwaites, bequeathed to it the sum of \$10,000, attaching no condition as to the use that should be made of it. The example set by Colonel and Mrs. Hollister, Doctor Thwaites, and Mrs. House should inspire other citizens of Wisconsin to similar action. It is axiomatic that trusts are imposed upon those who have shown themselves trustworthy. The Wisconsin State Historical Society has won an enviable reputation for itself by the way in which through the years it has discharged its task of conserving and disseminating information upon the history of the State and the adjoining region. Its fame is at least nation-wide, and its primacy of leadership among state supported historical societies is commonly recognized. The library and manuscript collections it has built up constitute one of the great centers of historical research in America. Those who have funds to devote to the increase of culture and the spreading of the bounds of human knowledge are earnestly invited to compare the claim of the Wisconsin Historical Society upon their generosity with that of other institutions. If its administration is found to be less efficient, its policy less enlightened, or its objects less worthy than is true of the institutions with which it is compared, it is cheerfully agreed that no funds should be devoted to this Society.

Private Funds

These manifest a condition of healthy growth during the fiscal year. The following facts are offered by way of a brief summary of the purpose and present condition of the various funds.

The General-and-binding fund of the Society amounted, on July 1, 1914, to \$38,283.03. This represents an increase over the statement for the preceding year, of \$1,652.75. The income of the fund proceeds from the interest it earns and from the receipts from membership dues and the sale of ordinary duplicates, one-half of which amount is automatically awarded to this fund.

The Antiquarian fund is used principally to promote the

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work of the Museum. Its income proceeds from the same sources as that of the general-and-binding fund. On July 1, 1914 it amounted to \$18,468.61, an increase for the year of \$1,138.42.

The Draper fund, to which is awarded the sums received from the sale of publications in the Draper Series, is devoted to earning for and publishing selections from the Draper Manuscripts. It amounted, at the end of the fiscal year, to \$12,189.45, an increase of \$557.77.

Practically all of the income of the Mary M. Adams art fund for the year was devoted to additions to the Library's art collection. On July 1, the fund amounted to \$5,232.81, showing a net increase for the year of \$13.68.

The Anna R. Sheldon memorial fund, which is devoted to the purchase of books for the Anna R. Sheldon art collection, increased during the year \$67.40. On July 1, the amount of the fund was \$1,660.90.

The Library

Statistics of Accession

Following is a summary of Library accessions for the year ending September 30, 1914:

Books purchased (including exchanges)	2,030	
Books by gift	3,054	
Total books		5,084
Pamphlets by gift	4,803	
Pamphlets on exchange and purchased	485	
Pamphlets made from newspaper clippings	300	
Total pamphlets		5,588
Engravings, photographs, and maps purchased	105	
Engravings, photographs, and maps by gift	157	
Total engravings, photographs, and maps		262
Total accessions of titles		10,934
Present (estimated) strength of Library:		
Books		184,834
Pamphlets		190,487
Total number of titles (books and pamphlets)		375,321

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Comparative statistics of gifts and purchases:

	1913	1914
Total accessions	12,668	10,934
Percentage of gifts in accessions	60	73
Percentage of purchases (including exchanges) in accessions	40	27
Books given	4,130	4,889
Pamphlets given	7,541	7,333
Engravings, photographs, and maps given	132	157
Total gifts (including duplicates, which are not accessioned)	11,803	12,379
Percentage of gifts that were duplicates	36	35
Percentage of gifts that were accessions	64	65

The chief event of the year from the view point of the Library has been the completion and occupancy of the northwest wing of the building. The original plan of the building contemplated two bookstack wings adjoining the main building, on the rear. Only one wing was built at first, however, and this has been used jointly by the University and the Historical libraries. At length the second wing has been completed. At Easter, 1914, the first three stories were occupied by the University Library, whose books the new wing was designed to house. In connection with the construction of the new wing and the shifting of the libraries occasioned thereby, has gone an extensive rearrangement of the Historical Library and building, the principal features of which are mentioned in the succeeding paragraphs.

The operations incident to building necessarily caused considerable disturbance to the grounds. The work of restoring them has already been carried out, the portion torn up having been resodded at a cost of \$585. For some years the cement walks and stone steps surrounding the Library building have been in bad condition. Aside from the accidents which this condition invited, it constituted an eyesore quite out of keeping with the general character of the building and grounds. During August and September, therefore, these walks were relaid and the steps repaired, at a total cost of \$491.64.

The changes which have been made in the Museum are described more fully in the report of that department. Here it is sufficient to note that the fourth floor of the new wing provides a spacious exhibition hall, which, when temporarily seated with chairs, becomes an equally spacious auditorium. In addition to

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this the new wing houses the office and work rooms of the chief of the Museum. The pioneer drug store, the realization of which has long been anticipated, has at length been installed in the north end of the Museum. In the opposite corner the New England kitchen has been erected. At the cost of much labor and some money the large light-well room immediately over the main reading room of the Library has for the first time been adequately ventilated.

The provision of an exhibition room and auditorium on the fourth floor of the new wing removed the occasion for longer maintaining the old auditorium on the third floor. As a matter of fact its use by the Historical Society had ceased long before the completion of the new wing. On the other hand the Society has long stood in urgent need of additional office room, particularly for its research workers. Hitherto the superintendent has been the only one of these provided with regular quarters for carrying on his work. With the idea of providing more adequately for the conduct of the research and editorial work, therefore, the old auditorium has been divided into three smaller rooms for office use. The Academy of Sciences will be housed henceforth in one of them. The room vacated by it will become the new staff room. The present staff room, adjoining the superintendent's study, and the two remaining rooms created from the old auditorium will be available for the conduct of the research and editorial work. The possession of a room where quiet and privacy may be enjoyed and where the superintendent may be able to find and confer with the workers, should result in greater efficiency of service in this department.

The vacating of the old stack wing by the University Library made necessary a general rearrangement of the books of the Historical Library, which now occupies the entire wing. The document division of the Library is increasing more rapidly than any other. To it, the basement and the two lower of the six stack floors have been assigned. Despite this material increase in space, this division already utilizes ninety per cent of the book space available for storage. Evidently the old shifts for space to which the Library has so long been forced to resort will shortly have to be begun anew with respect to this division. In connection with the change just noted, the former newspaper

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reading room on the first floor has been made the reading room for the document division. In its stead, the newspaper division has been provided with a larger reading room on the right of the main hall on the first floor which was formerly devoted to the storage of documents and patent reports. A new stairway connecting this reading room with the newspaper stacks in the basement has been cut. With the installation of the new steel newspaper stacks which have been ordered for the north end of the basement, the newspaper division will be satisfactorily housed for the present. For some time the volumes of newspapers currently received have been stacked in heaps on the basement floor for lack of shelving to contain them. While so housed they are practically nonexistent so far as the user of the Library is concerned, since it is out of the question to overhaul scores of heavy volumes to get at the one that may be desired. The new shelving about to be installed will accommodate the present accumulation of newspapers and in addition provide space for the accessions of the next three or four years. After that the newspaper division, like the document division, will be compelled to curtail seriously its work and efficiency unless additional space can be provided.

This hasty survey of the principal changes in the housing of the Library may be concluded with mention of the rearrangement of the manuscript division. For several reasons—the need of greater space for housing the manuscripts the prevention of the deterioration which comes from keeping them in air-tight vaults; and the desire for greater security against their possible destruction by fire—it has been deemed wise to clear the bookstack room adjoining the present manuscript room of books and devote it in future to housing the manuscript collection. At a trifling expense this room can be made absolutely fireproof. It is already provided with steel shelving. Taken in connection with the present manuscript room, the two rooms constitute a suite admirably adapted for the housing and administration of the manuscript division. Unless the rate of accessions which has prevailed in the past be markedly increased, this arrangement will afford adequate space for the needs of this division for many years to come.

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Changes in the Library Staff

In a staff numbering nearly thirty members changes are bound to occur with more or less frequency. During the year several members have resigned from the staff, and their places have been filled by the appointment of new workers. Aside from the change in the superintendency, already referred to, these changes have been as follows:

Sue Tullis, assistant in the newspaper and manuscript division, Helen Leslie, assistant in the order division and office, Margaret Head and Roy H. Proctor of the reference division, Dorothy Ely of the catalogue division, and Walter Hoffman of the document division have resigned during the year; their places have been filled in part by the appointment of Hester Harper and Josephine Allyn to the reference division, and Marjorie Park to the office staff. Ella Ryan's temporary appointment to the catalogue and document divisions has been made permanent.

Changes of title of members of the staff have been made in the case of Eleanore E. Lothrop from clerk to secretary to the superintendent, and Annie A. Nunns from the latter title to that of assistant superintendent. The character of the duties performed by Miss Nunns in the conduct of the work of the Society is such that this title seems more appropriate than her former one.

Change in Library Hours During the Summer Session of the University

In response to an apparent demand therefor, the experiment was tried for the first time of keeping the Library open until 10 o'clock P. M. during the six weeks when the summer session of the University was running. The evening use of the Library during the session seemed, on the whole, to justify this extension of service. There was ordinarily a good attendance in the main reading room, which at times was filled almost to its capacity. On the other hand, the attendance in the document division was so slight as to make clear that there exists no demand on the part of the public sufficient to justify the extension of this service another summer. For the convenience of the few persons who do desire to work in the public documents evenings it will be quite possible to arrange, on sufficient notice being given, for the use in the general reading room of the documents that may be desired.

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Public Document Division

Owing to the rearrangement of the public document division, made possible by the assignment of additional space consequent upon the completion of the new bookstack wing, this division is better equipped than ever before to serve the public. When the University Library moved into the north wing, two entire floors of the south wing were allotted to the public documents, and the room at the left of the State Street entrance of the Library, which was formerly the consultation room of the newspaper division, was turned into a document reading room. People who wish to consult the public documents now enter the division from the main corridor instead of being compelled to go, as formerly, to the second floor and thence behind the Historical desk and down two flights of stairs to the division.

Classes of books, seldom used, had been banished to remote corners or stored in out-of-the-way places to make shelf room for the rapidly increasing files in daily use. From the various places in the building the documents were collected and put in proper relation to the files already on the shelves. The British Blue Books and Hansard's *Debates* were brought from the basement and shelved in the document reading room. The United States patents were placed on stack floor B and may now be consulted at any hour when the Library is open to the public. Until this year it was possible to have access to them only between the hours of nine and five, a most inconvenient arrangement for people employed during the day. Notwithstanding the generous space now awarded to the document division, it has been necessary to relegate the British patents, a rare and valuable collection, to Room 3 in the basement. Although additional shelving was built before the books were moved, the growth of the collection will exhaust the available space before the end of five years.

A new and adequate catalogue case has been placed on the north wall of the document reading room and the cards have been transferred from the smaller case. Two members of the staff of the catalogue division are working on the documents, and old files as well as recent accessions are being catalogued. Much interesting historical material is being brought to light in early files of collected state documents, old laws, and legislative jour-

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nals. There is still a great deal of work to be done, and until the document catalogue is brought up to date the public, as well as the attendants, will continue to be hampered in their work.

The opening of a document reading room involved the question of the location of the documents included in the reference lists. It had been the custom in the past to send them to the Historical desk where they were charged to the individual readers, many of them being too valuable to be placed on the open shelves in the general reading room. It was finally decided to place all documents listed for reference in the document reading room, following the arrangement of other books in the general reading room. It is possible to have in use duplicate copies of some of the books which could not have been spared to send to the Historical desk. Free access to the shelves is allowed the same as in the general reading room and there is ample space to accommodate all who come to consult the books.

Although a full third of the storage room in the northwest bookstack wing now occupied by the Historical Library, is assigned to the document division, the most pressing problem connected with its administration is that of finding space for future growth. If the present rate of progress continues it will be necessary within five years to begin to store documents not in frequent use, and before ten years have elapsed the congestion will equal or exceed that from which the division has been so recently relieved.

Map, Manuscript, and Illustration Division

The growth of the manuscripts and other materials in this division during the year has continued satisfactorily. The most notable addition to the manuscript collection consists of the Civil War papers formerly preserved in the vaults of the governor's office in the State capitol. Upon calling the matter to his attention Governor McGovern recognized the force of the superintendent's argument that this material might more appropriately be housed in the Historical Library, where it can be indexed and made accessible to investigators, than in its former quarters. Accordingly, in compliance with the authority conferred by section 376-m of the *Wisconsin Statutes* for 1913, the transfer of the records in question to the custody of the His-

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torical Society has been authorized. The actual work of sorting out the papers is still under way. It is not yet possible to say how large the collection will prove to be, but it will probably be within the mark to estimate its contents at several thousand manuscripts. Its possession by the Historical Library should prove of threefold advantage: first, to the governor's office, which is relieved of the care and housing of a mass of manuscripts which have long since ceased to have any value from the view point of the administration of the executive department of the State; second, to the Historical Society, which is now charged with the duty of continuing the work in Civil War history conducted for the past few years by the Wisconsin History Commission; and third, to the Society's scholarly constituency, which finds in its library and manuscript collections one of the nation's great centers for the prosecution of study and research in the field of American history.

Another important accession to the manuscript collection has been the personal papers of the late Luman H. Weller of Nashua, Iowa. Mr. Weller located in Chickasaw County, Iowa, in 1859 and was thereafter for fifty years actively identified with the Democratic, Greenback, and Populist parties and the labor movement in Iowa. He was elected a Representative from Iowa to the Forty-eighth Congress on an Independent ticket. His papers consist of his correspondence with those of his own political and economic faith as well as many legal and personal documents.

Mrs. Edward S. Bragg of Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, gave the Library a considerable number of papers of her husband, Gen. Edward S. Bragg, including letters written to her during his service in the Civil War. Since the death of Mrs. Bragg, her daughter, Mrs. Margaret Sherman, has presented additional papers of General Bragg containing material for his biography.

Among the Draper Manuscripts are some important papers of Maj. Nathan Heald, who was in command at Fort Dearborn (Chicago) at the time of the massacre in 1812. From the superintendent of the Society, and from Mrs. Thomas McCluer of O'Fallon, Missouri, a granddaughter of Major Heald, have been received a number of additional Heald papers, thus bringing nearer to completeness an interesting group of papers already in the Library.

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Copies or originals of several valuable diaries have been acquired during the year. Mrs. M. S. Rowley of Madison has deposited with the Library the papers of her father, Abiel E. Brooks, including a copy of the diary kept by him on 'an overland journey from Madison to California in 1849 in search of gold. From David W. Hine of Ionia, Iowa, has come the diary of John B. Brown, a farmer of southern Wisconsin and north-eastern Iowa, kept from 1872 to 1908; from Mr. Philo A. Otis of Chicago a copy of the diary kept by his grandfather, Philo Adams, on a trip from Huron, Ohio, to Green Bay, Wisconsin, April to May, 1831; through Mrs. Winthrop Girling of Glencoe, Illinois, a copy of the diary of her grandfather, David Knapp Pangborn, kept from May 27, 1850, to November 22, 1873; through Mrs. O. W. Robertson of Milwaukee a copy of the family diary of Edward and Lucinda Holton 1845-83; and through Miss Mary Newnham of Oconomowoc a copy of the diary of James Newnham kept during his service on H. M. Ship "Acticon", 1831-34.

Mention is made elsewhere of the work done during the year in connection with the publication of a calendar volume for the Draper Collection. In preparation for a second volume in the series, eight volumes of the Kentucky manuscripts in the Draper Collection have already been calendared. The prosecution of this work is expected to occupy a large part of the time of the chief of the division during the coming year.

Provision has been made for two important changes in the housing of the collection of this division. Room 105 adjoining the present manuscript room has been vacated, and when provided with fireproof doors, which have been ordered, is to be devoted to housing the manuscript collection, while the present manuscript room will continue to house the maps and illustrations, and to serve as the reading and work room of the division. Three new cases, two for maps and one for illustrative material, have recently been installed. This has involved much labor by way of rearranging the collections.

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Newspaper Division

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Besides the regular routine work for the year, there has been an unusual amount of shifting of volumes in this division, due to the rearrangement of space following the completion of the new wing and to necessary repairs in the basement.

The average of newspapers regularly received in the division remains about the same from year to year. The file of out-of-state dailies numbers thirty; it could well be twice this number but lack of space and money compels the limitation of subscriptions to well established and representative newspapers from the United States and Canada, and one English daily, the *London Times*, which, with its South American, Spanish, and other supplements, is really a world newspaper. The State daily and weekly files number three hundred and are quite continuous; occasionally one drops out but another rises to fill its place, making the average about the same.

The greatest change occurs among the labor papers, many of which are short-lived and continually reappearing in new dress and under a new name. Nevertheless, they are a valuable addition to the library and contain much valuable material for students of the social and economic movements of this period. Of the labor papers eight are dailies, published in various languages; one comes from Australia, one each from Michigan, Chicago, and Massachusetts, and four from New York.

The Library also receives about one hundred general weekly newspapers, and seventy weekly or monthly trade journals representing the national associations of the more important trades of the country.

During the year 544 volumes of newspapers and 102 volumes of magazines have been bound. In addition about 100 bound volumes of old files have been secured by gift, exchange, or purchase. The most important of these accessions are the following:

Albany (N. Y.) *Cultivateur*, 5 vols., 1845-49.

Boston *Recorder*, 15 vols., 1820-50.

Cincinnati *Gazette*, 2 vols., 1876.

Indianapolis *Journal*, 3 vols., 1876.

— *Sentinel*, 5 vols., 1876-82.

London *Gazette*, 36 vols., 1811-28.

— *Universal Spectator*, 4 vols., 1732-40.

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Richmond (Va.) *Enquirer*, 26 vols., 1807-42.

— *Southern Opinion*, 1 vol., 1815-16.

Vermont *Intelligencer*, 2 vols., 1817-18.

Wilmington (N. C.) *Daily Journal*, 2 vols., 1856-59.

Worcester (Mass.) *Gazette*, 11 vols., 1900-05.

Two volumes of unusual interest acquired during the year are the *Spirit of '76* and the *Advance Guard*. Both were published at Nashville, Tennessee, as organs respectively of the Whig and the Democratic parties in the picturesque presidential campaign of 1840. It was the period of the Tennessee dynasty in American politics, when such men as Jackson, Polk, Hugh White, and Felix Grundy were taking a prominent part in American public life. The two files are complete, and together they afford an interesting revelation of the political manners and customs of the Jacksonian period. Those who suppose yellow journalism to be an invention of the close of the nineteenth century will be greatly enlightened by a perusal of the contents of these volumes.

Two events during the year have served to illustrate the increasing value of the Society's newspaper files. Our file of papers was called for by a far western state for use in an important suit in the United States court. The file in question is probably the only one of this particular newspaper now in existence. In connection with another important case which attracted nation-wide attention, the suit over the pure food law, which was held in Judge Sanborn's court at Madison, many volumes of newspapers from the Society's collection were requisitioned.

Catalogue Division

Five members comprised the staff of this division until August 1, 1914, when Miss Dorothy Ely resigned. Her place has not yet been filled. From the account which follows of the catalogue system maintained by the Library it will be seen that the present force is inadequate to the task in hand.

There are eight card catalogues in the library over which the catalogue division has charge. The first, and perhaps the most important, is the general catalogue in the reading room, accessible to all readers in the building and intended to give information concerning the resources of the library. Like all modern catalogues, it is arranged alphabetically, each book being shown

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by an author or title card and as many subject cards as may be necessary to cover its contents. The subject headings are modeled after those suggested by the Library of Congress catalogue, and the *A. L. A. List of Subject Headings*. New subjects are introduced whenever necessary.

During the year the storage capacity of the general catalogue has been increased fifty per cent through the addition of a new case of 312 trays. The cards have all been transferred and new labels made. There are now 936 trays in all, with a capacity of about 1,000 cards to the tray.

A second catalogue of great importance to the public is that of the document division. Since the division is a repository for all publications of national, state, or city governments, the catalogue covers only these subjects. Two members of the staff at present give their entire time to work on this catalogue. The classification of the documents according to the Cutter scheme has been completed and the work of revising and adding the new class numbers to old cards, and making new cards for new books is going forward. The complete and numerous indexes of government publications of the United States and Great Britain are of great assistance in this department, since they make it possible to shelve much material without the laborious task of analyzing and typing author and subject cards.

A third catalogue, of equal importance with the foregoing, is that of the division of maps, manuscripts, and illustrations. All acquisitions in these fields are carefully listed by author, subject, and donor, and the volumes, maps, and illustrations are placed in suitable drawers or on shelves. In this way it is possible to turn instantly to anything in this division which may be called for by the investigator.

A special catalogue has been made for users of the genealogical library. It contains copies of all material on this subject that are placed in the general catalogue in the reading room. It is kept in a separate case in the same room with the works on genealogy. It is principally a subject catalogue, listing only family names, with author cards for all genealogical organizations and periodicals. Indexes of material found in county histories, historical magazines, and similar publications are used freely, and are of great importance.

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In the catalogue room are kept several special catalogues to which the public may have access by applying at the delivery desk. One of these contains copies of all author cards of books in the general catalogue and is intended to be used in replacing cards in the general catalogue when these become too soiled and worn for use. Another is a Wisconsin biography catalogue, listing biographies, obituaries, and portraits of prominent Wisconsin people. Clippings from newspapers, biographies found in county histories or reports of organizations, and portraits wherever found, are carefully catalogued and filed here. This catalogue is of particular value to newspaper men and to workers in the field of Wisconsin history. A third catalogue deals with labor union material. A large and important collection in this field is housed for safe keeping in the catalogue room. The catalogue of the collection is mainly a card index for the various labor unions publishing constitutions, proceedings, and reports. Material about labor in general is placed in the stacks and listed in the general catalogue.

It remains to speak of the depository catalogue of the Library of Congress, which is administered by the catalogue division. Some eight or nine years ago the Library of Congress decided to place in certain selected libraries of the country printed copies of the author cards of its own general catalogue. This was done for the benefit of bibliographical research workers, and also as an aid to those wishing to buy copies of the cards for their own or for public libraries. The Library of Congress carries a stock of these printed cards, which are for sale at a nominal price, each card having its own stock number and being ordered by this number. The only requirement the Library of Congress asked in placing this catalogue in the Library was that it should be properly housed in cases, that the cards be filed promptly upon receipt, and that it should be easily accessible to the public. The catalogue contains at the present time about 600,000 cards, and the annual rate of increase is about 26,000 cards. Since trays have been installed having a capacity of about three and one-half million cards it is evident that there will be room for the growth of this catalogue for many years.

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Research and Publication Division

Requests for information on the most varied subjects continue to be received from every section of the country. A large proportion of these requests are made by seekers after genealogical information. The Library contains perhaps the best collection of books on American genealogy to be found west of the Alleghanies. To this and to the large manuscript collection searchers for genealogical information constantly resort.

Another large class of inquiries pertains to matters of local history. The majority of these come, naturally, from Wisconsin or adjoining states. The queries received are answered to the best of the ability of the Library staff, free of charge to the inquirer unless the inquiry calls for considerable investigation. In such cases the Society stands ready to act as the agent of the inquirer in engaging persons suitably qualified to conduct the investigation at his expense.

If this report could be brought to the attention of the persons concerned, it would be pertinent to suggest that the exercise of a reasonable degree of care in framing the inquiry will commonly result in its more speedy and satisfactory answer. Thus a request came from a citizen of Iowa a few months since for information concerning "the grasshopper war". Despite recollections of disastrous conflicts between battalions of grasshoppers and fields of wheat on the plains of Kansas, the research staff was forced to confess its inability to supply the desired information. Some weeks later a letter of mingled reproof and scorn was received from the seeker, conveying the statement that the grasshopper war was an obscure Indian foray in Pennsylvania in the Revolutionary period. Had the original inquiry contained any clue as to what were the associations of the subject in the writer's mind, the question might, in all probability, have been readily and promptly answered.

Necessarily the death of Doctor Thwaites, followed by a considerable vacancy in the superintendency and then the accession of a superintendent unfamiliar with the local situation affected materially the work of the research and publication division for the year.

During Doctor Draper's administration of the Society ten

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volumes of the *Collections* were published. Doctor Thwaites's régime likewise saw the publication of ten more volumes. He had secured legislative authority for the publication of a comprehensive index of the contents of the twenty volumes to be published as volume xxi of the series. The work of preparing the volume had been done in part some years before. During the year it has been steadily prosecuted, and the volume should be ready for the press some time this coming winter. Its publication will constitute a fitting conclusion to the valuable work done for the Society in connection with the *Collections* during the years of Doctor Thwaites's administration. The present incumbent has given much thought to the planning of the future research work of the Society; further than is indicated in the following paragraphs, however, no announcement of future plans is yet ready to be made.

The Society has issued during the year the following *Bulletins of Information*:

71. Periodicals and newspapers currently received at the Library, corrected to January 1, 1914. May, 1914.
72. Reports of auxiliaries, 1913. June, 1914.
73. List of Members of the Society and of its local auxiliaries. July, 1914.

Two books have been published and distributed to members during the year; the annual volume of *Proceedings* for 1913; and *Reuben Gold Thwaites: A Memorial Address*, by Frederick Jackson Turner. The latter volume contains, in addition to Professor Turner's address, a bibliography of the literary output of Doctor Thwaites.

In April, 1914, the publication of the *Wisconsin History Bulletin* was begun. This is an editor's news letter, designed to disseminate correct and timely information on matters of interest to the Society, and on historical subjects generally. The *Bulletin* is published monthly, and is sent to about 325 newspapers, chiefly in Wisconsin. It is perhaps too soon to determine the real value of the publication, although a number of favorable testimonials have been received concerning it.

A publicity enterprise of somewhat similar character has been launched in coöperation with the University Press editor. The Historical Society supplies each month an historical article of

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about 1,000 words, which the editor distributes to as many of the newspapers on his exchange list as have signified a desire to receive it for Sunday publication. At the last report forty-two papers were receiving this service. Included among them were such prominent journals as the *New York American*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *Chicago Herald*, the *Kansas City Star*, and the *Journal, Free Press*, and *News* of Milwaukee.

It seems obvious therefore, that the articles written receive widespread circulation. It is believed that this work constitutes a real, although modest, educational service to the State and the public generally. This will seem true especially to those who, like the writer, have frequently groaned in spirit over the amazing capacity of the typical metropolitan reporter for disseminating misinformation when he chances to deal with historical subjects.

During the year the preparation of the index volume of *Collections* has been steadily prosecuted. To this Doctor Kellogg has given practically her whole time, while much of the mechanical work has been performed by a student assistant employed for this purpose. The volume should be ready for publication during the coming winter.

Considerable progress has already been made with the preparation of what is expected to constitute the final volume of the series on the Wisconsin fur trade, to which the volumes of the *Collections* for the last few years have been devoted. Work in earnest on this volume will be taken up only after the *Index* is out of the way, and its publication is not anticipated until a year or more from the present time.

A coming volume in the Draper Series, dealing with the West in the post-Revolutionary period, is in much the same state of preparation as the foregoing. Most of the material for the volume has been selected and copied. The serious work of editing it must await the completion of other and more urgent tasks, or the addition of new members to the research staff.

One of the most interesting movements in American history resulted from the discovery of gold in California in 1848. This movement was of particular importance in the field of Western history, and the superintendent desires to publish one or more volumes of chronicles of the California gold seekers. Already

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several diaries kept by "forty-niners" have been procured for this purpose. More are desired, and it is hoped that anyone reading this report who knows of the existence either of diaries or of letters and other records pertaining to this interesting episode in our history will communicate his knowledge to the superintendent of the Society.

The preparation of a calendar volume of the Draper Collection of manuscripts was completed during the year, and the volume was sent to press in August, 1914. Unless the State printer shall meet with unexpected delay, it should be ready for distribution by the end of 1914. The preparation of a second calendar volume is already being prosecuted; to this Miss Weeks, chief of the manuscript division, devotes about half of her time. The work is necessarily slow and laborious, and the publication of another volume may not be expected for perhaps two years to come.

Wisconsin History Commission

Because of the virtual identity of this commission with the Historical Society some account of its activities for the year is in order here.

From the creation of the Commission the superintendent of the Historical Society has been its secretary and the editor of its publications. Recognizing the needless duplication of organization involved in the separate existence of the commission, the Legislature of 1913 provided that it should terminate January 1, 1915, and charged the Historical Society with the duties heretofore confided to it. The main activity of the Commission for the year has been the prosecution of the work of preparing a social and economic history of Wisconsin during the Civil War period. The work is being done by Frederick Merk, of the Society's research staff. A somewhat detailed report concerning his plans for the volume was printed on pages 43-45 of the *Proceedings* for 1913. According to present estimates the work will be ready for publication about the middle of the coming year. It should constitute a notable addition to the literature of Wisconsin and Civil War history.

During the year the Commission issued one of its most important publications thus far, *An Artilleryman's Diary*. The diar-

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ist, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, was a young Wisconsin farm boy serving as a private in the Sixth Wisconsin Light Artillery. He has since become better known as one of Chicago's most popular pastors and influential citizens. Of the historical value of the *Artilleryman's Diary*, as well as of the earlier publications of the Commission, the following review, written by the head of the history department of Northwestern University and published in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for September, 1914 bears testimony:

During the year 1908, the Wisconsin History Commission began the publication of "Original Papers" on the Civil War. The present volume, the eighth in the series, has been selected, advisedly, as worthy to take its place by the side of Lieutenant Haskell's *The Battle of Gettysburg*; Colonel Kellogg's *A Narrative of Army and Prison Life*; and Captain Hinkley's *A Narrative of Service with the Third Wisconsin Infantry*. Each of these volumes adds a valuable chapter to the literature of the war.

August 14, 1862, the first entry was made in *An Artilleryman's Diary*, when the writer enlisted for the Sixth Battery, Wisconsin Artillery (p. 105). The narration of daily happenings was faithfully continued until he was mustered out of service, July 3, 1865. Fifty years afterwards he consented to make the contents of the "ten little volumes" known to the public. His thought, in so doing, is expressed in these words: "May the clumsy sentences of a boy's diary, so lacking in perspective, so inadequate in expression, contribute a few sentences to the gospel of peace" (p. xviii).

One is impressed as he reads each entry that the real history of the Army of the Tennessee and the Army of the Cumberland, of Vicksburg, Chattanooga, and Mission Ridge can be known only as such accounts, written by private soldiers, are used to supplement official records. There is the description of camp life with its hours of hunger, thirst, and heroic contests with discomfort and fever. Drill and standing guard, and games of baseball, cards, cribbage, and quoits served as a partial offset to the monotony. Drunkenness brought forgetfulness to not a few. The fatigue of the march, and suffering in siege and battle are likewise vividly portrayed. An itemized statement of three years' receipts and expenditures with prices paid for clothing is given.

The value of the volume is enhanced by the author's preface, which contributes to an understanding of pioneer days in Wisconsin.

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Professional Activities

The personality and scholarly reputation of the late superintendent were such that he was frequently called upon to address historical and other gatherings, and to lend his aid in other ways to the advancement of the historical interests of the country. In accordance with the established precedent the present superintendent during the nine months of his incumbency has responded to such calls whenever it could be done without undue interference with the routine work of the office.

On the evening of February 3, 1914, the Graduate Club of the History Department of the University of Wisconsin was addressed on the subject of the "Travels of Jonathan Carver". On February 16 an address on the "Significance of the Civil War", was given in the Assembly Chamber of the capitol, the occasion being the annual memorial meeting of the G. A. R. of Madison. On July 14 the affiliated patriotic societies of Madison were addressed on "The Worth of Our Country". On July 22 the opening discourse of the summer lecture course at Ephraim, Wisconsin, was delivered, the subjects of the address being "Some Myths of American History".

Some of the other professional activities of the superintendent have been as follows: On February 21 he was the guest of the State Historical Society of Iowa, the occasion being the annual meeting of the Society. On March 20 and 21 he participated in a conference at Chicago between representatives of the Chicago Historical Society and the State historical societies of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin. The purpose of this conference was to devise, if possible, more effective measures for coöperation in the future prosecution of the work of the societies represented. Attendance at the annual meeting of the American Library Association at Washington in May afforded an opportunity for a search through the archives of the War Department and the Bureau of Indian Affairs for material pertaining to early Wisconsin history. The search resulted in bringing to light a considerable number of hitherto unknown charts and garrison and inspection reports of such early north-western military stations as Mackinac, Fort Howard at Green Bay, Fort Winnebago at the Fox-Wisconsin Portage, and Fort

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Crawford at Prairie du Chien. In the Indian Office is a great mass of material of surprising historical richness. That which pertains to Wisconsin should be copied at an early opportunity, for the Society's own manuscript collection. Much of it will doubtless prove valuable for publication in future volumes of the *Collections*.

The Washington journey was prolonged to Philadelphia and New York with a view to procuring for publication, if possible, the long lost journal of Sergeant Ordway, a member of the famous exploring expedition of Lewis and Clark, which had recently been discovered in Philadelphia. Through the courtesy of Mr. Charles Biddle, its owner, the journal has at length been sent on to Madison in order that it may be copied.

The Museum

General Survey

Wider recognition is being steadily gained by the Museum, which now holds a leading position in its particular field. During the past year curators and other officers of historical and other museums in Ohio, Missouri, Michigan, Illinois, Kansas, and other states have visited the Library for the purpose of inspecting the system in use of accessioning and installing collections. An extensive correspondence has also been conducted with other museums desiring information and assistance.

In the month of June, the new wing of the Library Building being ready for occupation, the Museum office was removed to its present quarters adjoining the new northwest hall. During this time the new exhibition cases began to arrive. Their erection in the places for which they were designed necessitated the storage of all of the large number of oil portraits on the walls, and of the screen exhibits and collections from the east, south, and north halls. Portions of the permanent collections in the several smaller halls were also moved to other quarters. A large amount of reserve material, which had been temporarily placed in the light-well, was moved to make possible the installation of a ventilating system. As no additional help was available, this work occupied several months. The task of erecting new cases was

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not completed until about the middle of August. Thirty-four new wall and forty-five table cases are now in place. Their installation with temporary and permanent collections has been begun. These cases are of the most approved style and, it is expected, will provide for the increase of the collections for some years to come. The new storage cases, whose completion was delayed for weeks by a carpenters' strike, are now ready for use, and the transfer of the reserve collections from a number of closets to them is now in progress. The large collection of oil portraits is being returned to the walls as rapidly as possible.

The pioneer kitchen has been removed from the east hall of the Museum, where its presence in the past has been a hindrance to the passage of visitors and has intercepted, to a large extent, both ventilation and light, and has been located in more spacious quarters in the northeast corner of the large north hall. In the northwest corner of this hall a small building for the housing of the old-fashioned pharmacy, stored for many years in the basement of the building, has been constructed. Its completion will make possible the giving of instruction in the State's pharmaceutical history to University classes, and provide an additional attraction of interest to the general public.

The collection of 250 battle flags of Wisconsin Civil and Spanish-American war regiments, which has been in the care of the Museum since the burning of the old capitol ten years ago, has been returned to the custody of the superintendent of public property, at the State capitol.

The activity of the Museum in searching for desirable historical materials has been such that there has been a constant flow of collections and of single specimens to the Society. About 1,300 specimens of all classes have been added since the last report. These are expected to add very greatly to the educational value of the present installations. Among the more important acquisitions the following seem worthy of separate mention:

Mrs. Lucius Fairchild, of Madison, donated the uniforms and other specimens, formerly the property of the Wisconsin Civil War generals, Lucius and Cassius Fairchild. Included are a full dress uniform worn by General Lucius Fairchild during his service as U. S. Minister to Spain, and a uniform of the Gover-

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nor's Guard of Wisconsin, also worn by him. The latter is probably the only example of its kind now in existence.

Another Wisconsin Civil War general's uniform given to the Museum during the year is one worn by Gen. Edward S. Bragg, commander of the famous Iron Brigade, the gift of his daughter, Mrs. Margaret B. Sherman, of Fond du Lac. From Dr. Silas Evans, of Ripon, has come a captured Confederate flag, that of the "Pelican Rifles", supposed to have been a Mississippi company; from Charles N. Brown, of Madison, a flag which belonged to Honorable Mortimer M. Jackson, U. S. Consul at Halifax, N. S., during the years 1860-80; from Mrs. John N. Jewett, of Chicago, a sword carried by her father, Gen. John H. Rountree, in the Black Hawk War of 1832; and from F. B. Swingle, of Racine, a silver pocket knife found on the body of Gov. Louis P. Harvey after his death by drowning at Pittsburgh Landing, April 19, 1862. The engraved initials on its blade assisted in the identification of Governor Harvey's body.

Mr. H. G. Dyer, of Madison, has prepared for the Museum a fine miniature model of an upper Mississippi River log raft. A collection of ancient flint arrow points and stone hatchets from Japan has been presented by W. W. Warner, of Madison, while a group of 228 specimens collected among the Ainu of northern Japan by Prof. Frederick Starr, of the University of Chicago, has been obtained by purchase. A large collection of ethnological material from western China has been deposited with the Museum by Christ Presbyterian Church, of Madison. Most of the specimens in this collection are from 500 to 2000 years old.

Special Exhibits

Thirty special exhibits were made in the Museum during the year. Some of these were quite extensive. The greater number were made in the print room.

For the holidays an exhibit of old-fashioned Christmas gifts, cards, carols, music, stories, tree ornaments, and other specimens was prepared. In connection with it were shown pictures and articles illustrative of Christmas customs in many foreign lands. This novel exhibit drew hundreds of visitors, and especially children, to the Museum.

Exhibits of an historical character were likewise prepared in

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connection with the observance of the birthdays of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, and also for St. Valentine's Day, St. Patrick's Day, and the centennial of "The Star Spangled Banner".

For the state encampment of the G. A. R. at Madison, an exhibit of twenty cases of Civil War material was installed in the new northwest hall. This was a source of great pleasure and interest to hundreds of visiting veterans and their families: Many loans of valuable specimens were made to the Museum for this exhibit by Madison citizens. Other timely exhibits of a military nature illustrated the last Mexican and former European wars.

Among the special exhibits of an ethnological character was one illustrative of life among Mexicans of the poorer classes. It included articles of dress, jewelry, household furniture, and specimens connected with their industries, amusements, and religion largely collected by Mrs. A. E. Smith, a missionary, in that country. Fine displays of Ainu, Chinese, and Japanese materials were made at different times during the summer months.

At the request of the University an exhibit of numerous publications on the folklore of the Indian tribes of the United States was installed. In the production of the pageant illustrating the history of the University, by the summer school students, the Museum coöperated by making a special exhibition of pictures, photographs, clothing, and other objects.

The convention of the Wisconsin division of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, which was held at Madison in August, was welcomed by an exhibition of the entire Library of works on Irish history, art, and economics recently acquired by the Society through a fund generously provided by the Order for this purpose. Fourteen table cases were required to house this exhibit.

Among other special exhibits made during the year was one of a collection of over four hundred selected bookplates and bookmarks; a display illustrating types of American agricultural machinery, 1840-60; and another of examples of Wisconsin pioneer poetry.

During the month of November the Wisconsin Philatelic Society made an instructive exhibit of United States postage stamps

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and of stamped envelopes in the print room. This brought many local and outside collectors to the Museum.

Through the courtesy of A. Kusama it was possible to repeat on a much larger scale the choice collection of Japanese wood-block prints which proved so great an attraction to students of Oriental art last year.

The Madison Art Association held four very successful exhibitions during the University year in the north and northwest halls. During January an exhibition of original sketches by American illustrators was made. This was arranged on the walls in such order as to show the successive steps in the training of modern magazine illustrators. Examples of the work of students of the Chicago Academy of Fine Arts and of the Art Institute of the same city were displayed. Included in the exhibit were over one hundred specimens of the work of such prominent professional illustrators as J. C. Leydendecker, Schoonover, and Flagg. In March a collection of fifty-five water colors by Florence Robinson and of fourteen oils by Birge Harrison was shown. Later in the same month an extensive exhibition of architectural, sculptural, and mural art was made in connection with the civic exhibit held in the Assembly Chamber of the State Capitol. The series of art exhibitions closed with the display, made in the month of May, of a collection of oil paintings by Frederick G. Sylvester, illustrating upper Mississippi River scenery. Art lectures were given in connection with these exhibitions, which were attended by many citizens and University students.

From June to September a choice collection of reproductions of old masters, secured for the Society by Professor Joseph Jastrow during a recent trip to Europe, was shown in cases in the print room.

Educational Activities

The attendance of classes of school children at the Museum during the year was greater than during any previous year. Forty-two classes visited its halls between January first and June first. The local public school system was represented by twenty-one classes with a total of 583 pupils. Classes also came from twenty cities and villages outside of Madison—among them Berlin, Baraboo, Reedsburg, Delavan, Thorp, Elroy, Stoughton, and

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Cambridge. The total number of visiting pupils from these places was 396. All were accompanied by their teachers and were given assistance and instruction by the Museum staff.

The classes in art and design, history, home economics, library work, machine design, and agriculture of the University also made visits and received instruction in the Museum halls.

On January 30 there came to the Museum over one hundred boys and girls, winners in the "Corn Contest" course. On January 31 the halls were opened in the evening for the benefit of the men and women attending the annual University farmers' course. On February 24 a delegation of fifty members from North Dakota, on a visit to the University, and on March 18 a similar delegation from the Red River Valley in Minnesota and North Dakota, came to the Museum.

On the afternoon of June 17, the chief of the Museum conducted the Camp Fire Girls of the University on a field trip to study the sites of early Indian occupation about Lake Wingra. On Saturday, July 11, an excursion of about one hundred teachers, attending the University summer school session, was conducted to the sites of historical and archeological interest on the shores of Lake Mendota. These excursions are increasing in popularity from year to year. They enable the participants to become acquainted with the antiquities of the region about Madison, and likewise encourage the owners of the land upon which these antiquities are located to protect and preserve them, because of their increasing educational value.

The collections of the Museum have been in constant use by high schools and University students in the preparation of themes and theses. Assistance has been given through correspondence to school teachers, women's clubs, and other organizations.

Archeological Work and Researches

On Saturday, June 20, a bronze marker was unveiled by the Madison members and friends of the Wisconsin Archeological Society on the site of the Rowan-St. Cyr fur trade post, on the northwest shore of Lake Mendota. The unveiling address was delivered by Dr. Louise P. Kellogg. On July 15 descriptive bronze tablets were erected on the two Indian effigy mounds

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on the crest of Observatory hill on the University grounds. The picturesque unveiling ceremony, which was viewed by a gathering of nearly five hundred persons, was conducted by summer session students of the course in community festivals, under the direction of the Archeological Society.

George R. Fox and E. C. Tagatz have conducted a survey of the Indian earthworks and sites of Waushara County. W. A. Titus has begun an examination of the Indian remains in Fond du Lac County. J. P. Schumacher has continued his researches in Door County, and H. L. Skavlem in the Rock Lake district in Jefferson County. C. E. Brown and A. O. Barton were engaged in an archeological reconnoissance in the region of the Courte Oreilles Lakes, during the month of August. The interesting results of these investigations are being prepared for future publication by the Wisconsin Archeological Society.

Two archeological bulletins have been published; one, "The Mounds of the Lake Waubesa Region", of which W. G. MacLachlan is the author, and another containing shorter papers by W. A. Titus, Prof. A. H. Sanford, H. L. Skavlem, and others.

Mississippi Valley Historical Review

One of the objects of the Wisconsin Historical Society as stated in Article I of the constitution is the "publication of materials for the study of history, especially the history of this State and of the Middle West". From the foundation of the Society the truth has been recognized that it is impossible to separate the history of the State from that of the adjoining region by any such artificial dividing line as the State boundaries. In one of his expositions of the work of the Society the late superintendent stated that its field of work was conceived to include the entire region between the Alleghanies and the Rockies, comprising the Mississippi Valley. In accordance with this broad conception the superintendent, with the approval of the Library Committee, agreed to subsidize the Mississippi Valley Historical *Review* to the extent of \$200 yearly for a period of three years. The Wisconsin Historical Society is but one of a considerable number of historical so-

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cieties, universities, and individuals thus engaged in making possible the publication of an historical quarterly which shall adequately represent the interests of the whole Mississippi Valley. The two numbers of the *Review*, which have already appeared have established a gratifying standard of scholarship and historical interest.

A Proposal for an Archives and Library Building

The situation with respect to the housing of the public documents and the newspapers and periodicals of the Library is discussed elsewhere. It is desired to call attention here to what would seem to be a wise solution both of this particular housing problem and of one of far greater importance which the State must shortly face.

It is a potent fact that American institutions and governmental bodies commonly fail to plan adequately for future needs and development. Perhaps a more agreeable way of stating the matter would be to say that the growth of American institutions and states has commonly outrun all forecasts that have been made concerning it. At the present time, to instance a single illustration, the city of Chicago is spending many millions of dollars in widening certain streets, compelled thereto by the insistent demands of an ever-growing metropolis whose development has already far exceeded the visions of even the wildest dreams of a generation or two gone by. Coming nearer home, how differently would the founders of Madison have laid out the city, had they sufficiently foreseen the needs of its population at the present day.

The men who planned and built the Historical Library building were more farsighted than usual. They planned a magnificent building with provision for future expansion as they thought, apparently, adequate to meet the needs of the situation for an indefinite period. The building was completed in 1900. Fourteen years have passed and already it is crowded in many respects to its capacity. The new stack wing, recently completed, allows for expansion sufficient only to supply the deficiencies of the past, and the needs of the immediate future. The original plans called for the construction, when needed, of a Park Street section, across the rear of the present stack

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wings. When this shall be done the increasing growth of the Library for a decade or so will be provided for. Further than this, the planners of the building did not look. The provision made for the growth of generations, then, will suffice in all probability for not more than a dozen years longer, a quarter of a century in all.

It would seem prudent, therefore, to canvass the entire situation and plan as wisely as possible for the needs of the future. With this idea in mind the following considerations are submitted. It may prove to be the case that on fuller consideration, some other and better solution of the problems under discussion will be found. If so, no one will rejoice more than the writer. The considerations advanced are impelled by the conviction that a maturely considered plan of action is wiser than a policy of mere opportunism, and that only good can come from a discussion of issues that must soon be faced—for a simple evasion of them will constitute the most shortsighted policy conceivable.

The present Library building is a splendid structure—necessarily, therefore, it is an expensive structure. It would be possible to construct a plain, yet dignified and equally roomy building at much less cost than the present one. These observations are made with no view to disparaging the wisdom of the men responsible for the present building; in common with all other Wisconsin citizens the writer is immensely proud of it. In no other way could Wisconsin have advertised herself to the world more favorably or profitably than by the construction and maintenance of this magnificent temple of intellectual endeavor. Fully recognizing this, the question still presents itself, is the state willing to spend the money necessary for providing with equal liberality for the future growth of the Library? If willing, is it wise and necessary that it should do so?

Save for the newspaper and periodical, and the public document divisions, the present building will probably answer the needs of the two libraries it houses for a great many years to come—just how many it is, of course, impossible to say. Its cost to date has been \$782,000—\$620,000 for the portion originally constructed, and \$162,000 for the recently completed bookstack wing. It is to be noted that the main structure was erected in 1895–1900 when prices of material and labor were

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much lower than at present. If the whole building were to be constructed today, it could not be done probably, for less than \$900,000 to \$1,000,000. Another way of looking at the matter is the following: the main structure containing 1,643,000 cubic feet, cost \$620,000 or $37\frac{3}{4}$ cents per cubic foot; the new wing, containing 290,000 cubic feet cost \$162,000 or $55\frac{8}{10}$ cents per cubic foot. In other words, the cost per cubic foot of the recently constructed wing was 47 per cent greater than that of the main building constructed a dozen years earlier. No architect's estimate of the cost of the Park Street section of the building has ever been made; it is probably entirely conservative, however, to say that, with the prevailing prices of labor and materials, it would exceed \$400,000.

May it not be wiser then, instead of building this Park Street section, to make provision for the growth of the Library by removing the public document and the newspaper and periodical divisions, which are of especially lusty growth, from the present building and housing them in an adjoining and more economical structure? At an expenditure equal to the sum which the Park Street addition will cost such a structure could be erected as would meet the needs of the situation from the Library point of view for a full generation yet to come. Further than this, if situated and planned, as it should be, to admit of future additions, provision would be afforded for indefinite growth.

Thus far the situation has been considered from the view point of the Library alone. That the State will refuse to provide reasonably for its future growth is inconceivable. How such provision may be made to the best advantage is the only point to be considered. The suggestion already advanced finds its strongest reinforcement in the consideration of another and, probably, more important problem of State administration.

There is an ancient proverb anent the production of two blades of grass where but one has grown before; another of not dissimilar import concerns the killing of two birds with one stone. To connect the Library problem with another of still greater importance to the State, and solve both at the cost of one, with the solution redounding at the same time to the greater advantage of the two sets of interests involved, would seem to be a practical application of the moral the two proverbs convey.

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The new State Capitol is a much more splendid building than the Library, and eight times as costly. Unlike the Library building its design admits of no additions to provide space for future needs of government. Ten years ago the State of Minnesota erected a similar building, regarded by the citizens of the State with pride similar to that which we manifest concerning our own splendid seat of government. Long since the building has proved inadequate to house the various branches of the State government. A recent legislature provided for the construction of a building adjacent to the Capitol at a cost of \$450,000, to house certain of these branches. In our own case, if popular report can be credited, our new Capitol building is becoming overcrowded even before its completion. It scarcely requires statement that before a decade has elapsed Wisconsin will be brought face to face with the same embarrassment from lack of space in the Capitol to house the various departments of government, which our neighboring state has already experienced.

One method of postponing this embarrassment, and the consequent necessity of removing branches of the State government to other buildings, would be to relieve the Capitol of the great masses of State records that have accumulated during the eighty years since Wisconsin became a separate political entity. Their removal to an archives building would redound to the advantage of all the various interests concerned. The overcrowded vaults and filing cases of the various offices, relieved of the masses of material whose usefulness from the view point of current administration has ceased, would provide ample accommodation for the more recent State records and those which are needed in the daily administration of the government.

Leaving out of account the important consideration of economizing space in the Capitol building, a positive administrative gain would result from such a disposition of the State records. Wisconsin's records are fairly complete. They have suffered much less than have the records of most of the states from such agencies of destruction as fires, removals, improper housing, and indifference on the part of their custodians. While this is true, their system of arrangement—conspicuous in many cases for lack of system—is bad. From the view point of administrative

Wisconsin Historical Society

efficiency and economy a decided improvement would follow upon their collection and orderly arrangement and indexing in a suitable archives building.

Assuming the desirability of this, it is obvious that both administrative and scholarly considerations demand that the building be erected in proximity to the Historical Library and be administered by the Library staff. Wisconsin is conspicuous among the sisterhood of states for the care with which her historical interests are conserved and cultivated. Nor is this a recent development, for the State Historical Society is but one year younger than the State itself. There is no good reason why the professional training and knowledge of the Historical Society staff should not be utilized to the utmost by the State. In the nature of things this professional training qualifies the staff to administer the State records better than can possibly be done by the ever-changing procession of State officials, who not only lack continuity of tenure and professional training, but whose time and interests are devoted to other and quite different problems. Another consideration worth noting is that by entrusting the State records to the care of the Historical Society centralization of system and housing will succeed the present multiplicity of systems and diversity of storage places.

From the view point of the scholarly and historical interests involved such a combination of the State archives with the Historical Library would be wholly admirable. Archival materials are as the potter's clay to students of government, economics, history, sociology, and the allied branches. At the present time although the State's archives are less than a mile away from our great University, they might almost as well be nonexistent so far as any use of them by scholars is concerned. In a recent conversation the senior professor of American history in the University stated that it was practically useless to send any of his students to the Capitol to consult them. Nor is this intended as a reflection upon the attitude of the officials in charge of the various branches of the State government. However willing they may be—and they are as a rule an uncommonly courteous group of men—they are practically helpless to assist the student in his quest. A concrete illustration may be afforded by the recent experience of the writer. With the Governor's permission to

Executive Committee's Report

remove certain Civil War documents from the executive office to the Historical Library he repaired, with one assistant, to the Capitol to do the work of selecting them. The obliging attendant succeeded in finding one chair and clearing half of one small table for the use of the two workers, and with such accommodations the work of sorting was done. Were the State records housed in proximity to the Historical Library and made accessible to students the change would constitute an advantage to the scholarly interests of the State whose importance can scarcely be overestimated.

That such a plan of administering the State archives is by no means novel, appears from an examination of the practice pursued in other states. To mention only a few, Iowa has a Memorial Building which houses the State Historical collections and library and the archives, both under the custody of the curator of the State Historical Society. South Dakota has a department of history and archives, a branch of the State government, housed in the Capitol. Alabama has also a department of history and archives. In some states the natural process of local evolution has brought forth a different arrangement, while in still others the care of the records and the preservation of materials for State and local history have been left largely to chance. In Wisconsin considerations alike of administrative efficiency, of economy, of scholarly interest, and of local evolution all unite to favor such a solution of the archives and Historical Library problems as has been suggested.

To sum up: The Historical Library is a splendid and costly building. It will suffice to accommodate the growth of the libraries contained in it for only a few years at the most. The two departments which grow most rapidly and demand the most space are the public document, and the newspaper and periodical divisions. Were these removed to another building the present structure would probably meet the demands upon it for an indefinite period. The Capitol is likewise a splendid and expensive building, which before many years have elapsed will be overcrowded. It is proposed to meet the demands for additional space for the growth of the Library and the increasing activities of the State government by the construction of a suitable building in proximity to the Historical Library which shall house the

Wisconsin Historical Society

State records which are no longer in common use for administrative purposes, and also the public document and the newspaper and periodical divisions of the Library. The change will promote economy: first by the vacation of space in the two most expensive buildings owned by the State in favor of similar space in a plainer and cheaper building; second, by utilizing the existing organization of the Historical Library, a State-supported institution, to administer the public records, thus freeing the various State officials for the work they are primarily chosen to do. It will promote efficiency: first, in the administration of the various branches of the State government, since an orderly arrangement of the public records by an organization professionally trained for this work will make possible the prompt finding of any desired document or series of documents, needed by any official; second, by combining the public records with the Historical Library and thus making them accessible to scholars, increasing thereby the efficiency of the University, the most costly single department maintained by the State.

Treasurer's Report

Treasurer's Report

Statement of Condition of State Historical Society July 1, 1914

Assets:

Cash	.	.	.	.	.	\$1,190.03
Mortgages	.	.	.	.	.	84,200.00
Real Estate	.	.	.	.	.	580.54
						<hr/>
						\$85,970.57

Distributed as follows:

General and Binding Fund	.	.	\$38,283.03
Antiquarian Fund	.	.	18,468.61
Draper Fund	.	.	12,115.62
Mary M. Adams Art Fund	.	.	5,232.81
Anna R. Sheldon Memorial Fund	.	.	1,660.90
Hollister Pharmaceutical Fund	.	.	8,979.45
Isaac S. Bradley Portrait Fund	.	.	.25
Special Book Fund	.	.	1,218.61
Entertainment Fund	.	.	11.29
			<hr/>
			\$85,970.57

General and Binding Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

½ Annual dues	.	.	\$450.50
½ Life Membership fees	.	.	50.00
½ Sale of duplicates	.	.	142.38
Share of interest	.	.	\$1,639.89
			<hr/>
			\$2,282.77

Treasurer, Cr.

R. G. Thwaites, travel	.	.	\$68.01
Annie A. Nunns, travel	.	.	75.91
Daisy G. Beecroft, services	.	.	41.60
R. C. Nicodemus, bonds of treasurer and superintendent	.	.	37.50
L. S. Hanks, salary	.	.	150.00
Commercial Camera Co., supplies	.	.	61.44
Rentschler Floral Co.	.	.	9.00
Recording mortgages	.	.	1.50

Wisconsin Historical Society

M. M. Quaife, travel . . .	139.11
M. M. Quaife, miscellaneous bills . . .	20.00
Superintendent of Documents, Washington, publications . . .	15.28
St. Paul taxes . . .	6.14
Wisconsin Archeological Society . . .	1.00
C. E. Brown, travel . . .	3.53
Balance to General and Binding Fund . . .	1,652.75

\$2,282.77

General and Binding Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

Old balance . . .	\$36,630.28
Transferred from Income . . .	1,652.75

New Balance . . .	\$38,283.03
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Antiquarian Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

½ Annual dues . . .	\$450.50
½ Life Membership fees . . .	50.00
½ Sale of duplicates . . .	142.45
Share of interest . . .	799.74

\$1,442.69

Treasurer, Cr.

C. E. Brown, travel . . .	\$9.27
R. A. Devine, museum specimens . . .	4.00
Frederick Starr, museum specimens . . .	250.00
Maurice Stewart, museum specimens . . .	6.00
H. L. Skavlem, museum specimens . . .	35.00
Balance to Antiquarian Fund . . .	1,138.42

\$1,442.69

Antiquarian Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

Old balance . . .	\$17,330.19
From income . . .	1,138.42

New balance . . .	\$18,468.61
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Draper Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

Balance . . .	\$11,631.68
Sale of duplicates . . .	20.23
Interest . . .	537.54

\$12,189.45

Treasurer's Report

Treasurer, Cr.

Louise P. Kellogg, services	.	.		\$73.83	
Balance	.	.	.	12,115.62	
				<hr/>	\$12,189.45

Mary M. Adams Art Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

Balance	.	.	.	.	\$5,219.13	
Interest	.	.	.	.	241.38	
					<hr/>	\$5,460.51

Treasurer, Cr.

Joseph Jastrow, pictures	.	.	.	\$100.00	
Foster Brothers, pictures	.	.	.	88.25	
Arturo Alinari, pictures	.	.	.	39.45	
Balance	.	.	.	5,232.81	
				<hr/>	\$5,460.51

Entertainment Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

Balance	.	.	.	.	.	\$11.29
No change during year in balance	.	.	.	.	.	\$11.29

Anna R. Sheldon Memorial Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

Balance	.	.	.	.	\$1,593.50	
Gifts	.	.	.	.	30.00	
Interest	.	.	.	.	73.40	
					<hr/>	\$1,696.90

Treasurer, Cr.

G. Broes Van Dort Co., pictures	\$36.00	
Balance	1,660.90	
					<hr/>	\$1,696.90

Special Book Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

Balance	\$1,222.11
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Treasurer, Cr.

J. F. Jameson, pictures	\$3.50	
Balance	1,218.61	
					<hr/>	\$1,222.11

Wisconsin Historical Society

Hollister Pharmaceutical Library Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

Cash	\$8,651.03	
Cash from sale of one share of Hollister		
Drug Co. stock	10.00	
Interest	318.42	
	<hr/>	\$8,979.45

Treasurer, Dr.

Balance		\$8,979.45
NOTE—Besides the cash here entered the Society received for the fund:		
1. ½ Inchoate interest in notes of A. H. Hollister	\$737.43	
2. ½ Inchoate interest of A. H. Hollister to Capital City Bank and Central Wisconsin Trust Company	\$2,671.15	
3. ½ Inchoate interest in part of claim of Mary G. Sherman vs. Estate of A. H. Hollister	\$135.00	
	<hr/>	\$8,979.45

Isaac S. Bradley Portrait Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

By Adams Art Fund	\$79.00
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Treasurer, Cr.

Balance	\$74.00	
C. H. E. Boughton, supplies	4.75	
Balance25	
	<hr/>	\$79.00

Reports of Local Auxiliaries

Reports of Local Auxiliary Societies

Green Bay

The Green Bay Historical Society held its only meeting of the year Thursday evening, September 17, 1914, in the children's room of the Public Library to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the writing of "The Star Spangled Banner" by Francis Scott Key. The meeting had originally been set for Monday, September 14, but it was postponed to Thursday because of a violent wind and rain storm which swept over the city just before the time planned for the meeting.

The program was preceded by a short business session, the most essential matters being the adoption of the following resolutions: First:

The Honorable James H. Elmore, long vice-president of the Green Bay Historical Society departed this life on Monday, June 1, 1914.

Mr. Elmore was the son of Honorable Andrew E. Elmore, for many years identified with the National Conference of Charities and Correction and the Wisconsin State Board of Charities and Reforms. He came to Green Bay with his father in 1863 to engage in the elevator and transportation business, has resided here since then, and during this time has been connected with most of the city's large business enterprises. He was elected mayor of Green Bay for five successive terms.

Mr. Elmore was an active and enthusiastic member of this Society, was connected with it from its organization, and was deeply interested in all historical matters. To his energy and efficient endeavor, and his successful negotiations with the officials of the Chicago and Northwestern Railway, is largely due the erection of the beautiful bronze tablet and massive boulder marking the site of the three forts which successively stood on the west side of the Fox River, and the flag pole which stands on the site of the southeast corner of the stockade of old Fort Howard. Mr. Elmore's correspondence with the officials of the Northwestern Railway is filed with the records of this Society. The

Wisconsin Historical Society

tablet was unveiled at a field meeting of the Wisconsin State Historical Society in August, 1909.

Mr. Elmore was a genial and courteous gentleman and had many warm friends. At the time of his death he was postmaster of Green Bay.

Therefore be it resolved: That this Society wishes to place on record its sincere appreciation of Mr. Elmore's work and personal influence and the deep loss which the Green Bay Historical Society and the community at large has sustained in his death. Arthur C. Neville, Deborah B. Martin, committee.

The resolution was adopted by a rising vote and ordered inscribed at length upon the records of the Society.

Mrs. Elmore was then unanimously elected vice-president of the Society, succeeding Mr. Elmore. She was also appointed to succeed her late husband as chairman of the committee to investigate the origin of the names of the various streets of the city, many of which were named after people intimately connected with its early history.

The second resolution concerning the death of Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, for many years superintendent of the State Historical Society, was as follows:

Shortly after the last meeting of the Society, and the day preceding the annual meeting of the State Historical Society, on October 22, 1913, Reuben Gold Thwaites, its secretary and superintendent, who for twenty-seven years had guided its activities, passed from our midst.

During his incumbency Doctor Thwaites made many visits to Green Bay in search of historical material, and the large number of manuscripts collected by him in this city and vicinity, and the seventy-two volumes of the Jesuit Relations, which he edited, constitute the most valuable data on the fur trade of the Northwest and the early history of Wisconsin to be found anywhere in the United States.

Doctor Thwaites organized this Society and was always keenly interested in its growth and progress. He attended many of its meetings, addressed this Society on historical subjects many times, and was always greeted with the quick recognition that "here was a rare man, a man to be welcomed as a friend, and all felt that he spoke with the fullness of knowledge which comes from a thorough and extensive knowledge of his subject".

Socially Doctor Thwaites was very delightful, and a true, steadfast friend. He had a keen sense of humor, and was always ready with a joke or a story that impressed its point upon his hearers.

We wish to have this slight tribute entered on the records of the Society as an evidence of how deeply we appreciate the work done

Reports of Local Auxiliaries

by Doctor Thwaites for our Society and for the State Historical Society. In his death the State of Wisconsin and historical students throughout the country have met with an irreparable loss. Arthur C. Neville, Deborah B. Martin, committee.

This resolution was also adopted by a rising vote and ordered inscribed at length upon the records of the Society, and a copy sent to Mrs. Thwaites.

Mrs. Elmore then presented to the Society the muster rolls of the old Bay City Light Guards, together with the certificate from the State authorizing the organization of the company, both very interesting and valuable documents. Several maps of early Green Bay showing the location of old Fort Howard, and the site of the old Sauk Village located near where the Beaumont House now stands and other places of historic interest, copied from the records of the War department, which until quite recently were inaccessible, were received from Doctor Quaife, superintendent of the State Historical Society, for which a vote of thanks was tendered him.

Following this Rev. James F. Kieb spoke of the custom in the East of having a liberty pole set in some prominent public place in each city, on which was displayed at all times by the city authorities the flag of the United States, a custom which he urged should be observed by all cities as tending to inspire a sentiment of loyalty and patriotism; that this flag ought to be displayed by governmental authority to impress upon the beholder that the government was not only in some far-off place like Washington, but right here in Green Bay. He said he met a young man on the street the morning of the 14th, and asked him if he had saluted the flag. "No," he said, "not yet. I have passed a lot of flags but they don't count. I am going to salute the flag on the Federal building; that represents the government." The proposition was received with much enthusiasm, and a committee was appointed by the president composed of Rev. James F. Kieb, chairman, Mr. George F. Ellis, Mrs. A. C. Neville, Miss Deborah B. Martin, Mrs. Philip Sheridan, Mr. Henry F. Sutton, and Mr. W. L. Evans, to arrange for such a pole to be erected, if the consent of the County Board could be obtained, on the lawn of the County courthouse.

Immediately following the close of the business meeting the

Wisconsin Historical Society

literary program was begun. Mrs. Dorr Clark gave a most graphic account of the incident of the War of 1812 which inspired the writing of "The Star Spangled Banner". She told how Francis Scott Key, a prisoner on a British man-of-war watched with straining eyes the banner as the British fired on Fort McHenry, and of his great poem which followed the battle.

One of the most interesting features of the evening was the talk given by John C. Thurman, who illustrated his remarks by showing a number of autograph copies of old documents, as well as pictures, and other antiques. Included among these was an autograph letter written by George Washington, and a second written by Woodrow Wilson, showing the difference between the old quill pen and the modern typewriter, with only the signature in ink.

Mr. Thurman urged the necessity of having a fireproof room where the Society might keep gifts which have been, and will be made to it, and upon his suggestion a motion was carried to try to secure one of the unused rooms in the courthouse.

Rev. James F. Kieb followed Mr. Thurman on the program and spoke entertainingly of one of the best known of the storied characters of the wars of bygone days, Barbara Frietchie. In connection with the talk a chair and a pitcher belonging to the Frietchie family were shown, and later Father Kieb read Whittier's poem, "Barbara Frietchie." The meeting was closed with the reading of "The Star Spangled Banner", by Father Kieb.

The children's room was prettily decorated for the occasion with quantities of flags and flowers which were sent in during the day by members and friends of the Society. More than seventy-five were present during the evening, and the meeting was one of the most successful and enthusiastic ever held by the Society.

On the evening of July 22, a reception was held in the new children's room of the Public Library by the Kinney Art School of Chicago, in honor of Dr. Milo M. Quaife, the recently elected superintendent of the State Historical Society. Members of the Green Bay Historical Society attended, and very much enjoyed meeting Doctor Quaife.

ARTHUR C. NEVILLE, *President.*

Reports of Local Auxiliaries

La Fayette County

During the year there have been no historical activities, and no papers read. Green Bay, Prairie du Chien, and this county are the best written-up places in the State. Strong, Cothren, Meeker, Dodge, Ladd, Dunn, Bracken, Percival, Hamilton, the Gratiots, and the Parkinsons covered the field. There have been several articles in the county papers of the several towns, and the *County History* of 1881 covered everything.

Lead was discovered here about 1818. The first permanent settlement was in 1824, and the first farming in 1827. In 1828 there were settlements in what are the present towns of Wiota, Fayette, Kendall, White Oak Springs, Darlington, Monticello, Willow Springs, Belmont, Benton, Shullsburg, and New Diggings. This was the year of the first church, school, birth, marriage, and death in the county.

The county progressed so fast that in 1836 the Territorial capital was located here (at Belmont). In recent years we have been so busy making cheese, that the study of local history has been neglected. The county is only four and one-half by five townships in extent, but last year its dairy products were valued at nearly two million dollars.

About twenty-five volumes have been added to the Library, including a rare Roman missal; a hymn book one hundred and sixteen years old; the "Class Book" of a local church, dated 1856; a memorial volume to Dr. R. G. Thwaites; a *History of the Third Wisconsin Infantry*, by Bryant; and histories of the University of Wisconsin, the Sixth Wisconsin Battery, and the Wisconsin National Guard.

Several early documents have been added to the Library. Pictures of old settlers received, include S. S. Allen, J. H. Earnest, F. H. Marsh, Aldro Jenks, George Hawley, Mr. and Mrs. Satterlee Warden, Helen Watts McVey, and E. M. McGinnity.

The museum is steadily growing. During the year there have been added to it a birch bark canoe, a Chinese sword, old fashioned candle snuffers, a dueling pistol, an ancient candlestick, a set of surveying instruments used in early times, and a cabinet of minerals, medals, and coins.

A store room in the courthouse contains a mass of old documents and records that should be classified.

P. H. CONLEY, *President*

Wisconsin Historical Society

Ripon

The Ripon Historical Society has for its present officers: President, W. E. Haseltine; vice-president, W. S. Crowther; treasurer, Towne L. Miller; and secretary, S. M. Pedrick. It held two most interesting sessions during the year, at which were read historical reminiscences by Col. George W. Carter, relating to the early days in Ripon and vicinity, and a review of the historical claims of Ripon as the "Birthplace of the Republican Party", by Professor Gilman, the latter being given on the fiftieth anniversary of the famous schoolhouse meeting, March 1, 1854. A considerable increase in membership was secured, and the Society is continuing in a quiet way its past policy of forming a nucleus for historical interest locally, and the collection of local materials.

S. M. PEDRICK, *Secretary*

Sauk County

During the past year the Sauk County Historical Society has had several successful meetings and the programs have been of a varied nature.

At the annual meeting held November 1, 1913, in the Circuit Court room resolutions were adopted on the death of the late Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites expressive of the great loss the Historical Society has sustained. A copy of the resolutions was sent to the State Historical Society and to the widow of the deceased. Papers were also read on the life and work of Doctor Thwaites. At this meeting the officers of the Society for the following year were elected and two interesting discourses given: one by N. W. Morley, whose subject was "Some of the Trials and Triumphs of the Early Dairyman", and another by Charles E. Brown, chief of the Museum of the State Historical Society, who spoke of the "Prehistoric Indian Commerce, with Special Reference to the Traffic in Marine Shells". Mr. Brown exhibited a number of pictures to illustrate his lecture.

Reports of Local Auxiliaries

On February 13, 1914, the second meeting of the year was held, at which the following papers were read:

"The Ghoul of Palfrey's Gorge," written Dr. M. T. Martin, of Merrimack.

"Sauk County Descendants of a Waterloo Soldier," written by A. O. Barton, of Madison.

"Early Days in Baraboo," a tale of pioneer times, told by Attorney R. T. Warner, of Everett, Washington.

"White Crow and His Daughter," written by H. L. Skavlem, of Janesville.

Mr. H. E. Cole told of the Indian earthworks in Adams County, from personal observations made the previous summer. He illustrated his talk with a map and comprehensive drawings.

At the meeting held on March 16 a number of relics owned by the late W. H. Canfield, and presented to the society by his daughter, Mrs. A. C. Darby, were exhibited. A paper on "Stamps and Stamp Collecting" was read by M. M. Palmer, who has been collecting stamps for about twenty years, and who has some 12,000 different stamps. He exhibited several volumes. Other papers presented were:

"The Jenkins Family," by Mrs. E. M. Hoag, of Baraboo.

"Hauling Grain from Baraboo to Milwaukee by Team," by H. H. Flint, of Ewing, Nebraska.

"Matts Ferry at Merrimack," by John D. Jones, of Chicago.

"Killing Three Indians on Upper Bear Creek," by Ed. Cruson, of Napevine, Washington.

Judge James O'Neil of Neillsville, who was a visitor at the meeting, gave a number of interesting reminiscences about the Jenkins family, his own ancestors, and other topics.

On Wednesday evening, March 25, the members of the Society enjoyed a winter picnic and social evening at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Avery who opened their hospitable home for the occasion. A picnic supper was served at six o'clock, and the evening was enlivened by anecdotes and a straw vote on the name that should be given the new lake at Merrimack formed by the backing up of the water from Prairie du Sac, where the Southern Wisconsin Power company is erecting a mighty dam. The name Wisconsin received twenty-four out of forty votes cast.

Wisconsin Historical Society

The members of the Sauk County Historical Society enjoyed their annual outing on June 15, 1914, an excursion being made in launches up the Baraboo River to Riverside. A picnic dinner was served beneath the trees on the bank of the river, after which W. H. McFetridge of the State Park Board told of the historic places on the Baraboo River and gave other interesting data.

Mr. E. A. Cleasby of Portage, who is engaged, under the employ of the United States government, in enforcing the federal laws for the protection of wild life, gave a most instructive address on some of the problems in his field of labor. He told of the vanishing wild life, of the efforts being made to save the birds, of the work birds do, and of their economic value to mankind.

On Friday afternoon, October 16, 1914, the Sauk County Historical Society unveiled a bronze tablet on the site where the first church was erected in Baraboo in 1850. The tablet is fastened to a quartzite boulder and bears the following inscription:

The First Church
in Baraboo
Was Erected on this Lot
by the
Methodist Episcopal Society
In 1850

This Memorial Tablet
Erected 1914 by the
Sauk County Historical Society

Dr. E. P. Hall, pastor of the church at the present time, gave the invocation, and H. E. Cole, president of the Historical Society, told "Why We Erect Commemorative Tablets". The address of the afternoon was on the "Significance and Presentation of This Tablet", by A. C. Kingsford, superintendent of the city schools. The tablet was accepted for the city by Mayor G. T. Thuerer, and unveiled by Miss Grace Munroe, a great granddaughter of Colonel Maxwell, one of the founders of the church. The site on which the tablet is erected is now owned by Al. Ringling and is opposite his palatial home.

Twelve new members have joined the Society during the past year.

H. K. PAGE, *Secretary*

Reports of Local Auxiliaries

Walworth County

The list of officers is unchanged since last reported.

Some progress has been made in the work of assembling data relating to early settlers, their family connections, their business enterprises, and their public usefulness. Notes have been made from the advertising and local news columns of fifty volumes of Elkhorn newspapers, dated between 1854 and 1914; and something has been derived from the invaluable personal recollections of a few of the yet accessible early comers to the county.

The death, one short year ago, of Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites was not then unnoted nor is it now forgotten here, although the conventional period of mourning is already practically at its end. Formal preamble and resolutions might now seem like "marching in the rearward of a conquered woe"; but there are more than one of us who may well hold in memory their late adviser and friend, with "calm regret", until the end of all remembering.

ALBERT C. BECKWITH, *President*

Waukesha County

The Waukesha County Historical Society held three meetings during the year 1913-14.

At a special meeting held October 31, 1913, to determine the future ownership of the Cushing monument site as selected by the Society with the approval of Governor McGovern, letters from Attorney-General Owen and Judge George H. Noyes were read by the secretary and the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, by the Waukesha County Historical Society, that it is the sense of this Society that the title to the lands in the town of Delafield, Waukesha County, Wisconsin, upon which the Cushing monument is to be erected, shall be taken in the name of the State of Wisconsin, and that the deed to said lands run to the State of Wisconsin; and that said deed, when executed be placed in escrow in some suitable hands to wait the acceptance by the State of Wisconsin; and that in the meantime the work of erecting said monument be prosecuted with all convenient speed, and the officers and proper committee of this Society

Wisconsin Historical Society

are instructed to take all steps necessary or convenient to carry out the purpose of this resolution.

Designs for the monument were submitted by the Cushing Monument Committee for approval. A resolution of sympathy on the death of Theron W. Haight, one of the founders of the Society, was adopted by a rising vote.

The eighth annual meeting was held in the Congregational Church parlors, Waukesha, May 2, 1914.

A list of gifts to the Society, including photographs, old newspapers, books, maps, and old deeds was read by the custodian. A committee was appointed to take some action in regard to a room for the preservation of the Society's growing collection.

A literary program followed the business meeting. After a vocal solo, "Glorious Devon", by Paul Ferris, with Mrs. W. L. Ferris as accompanist, Lieut-Col. J. A. Watrous told of Waukesha County in the Civil War and paid a fine tribute to all Wisconsin men who served in that war.

The singing of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" and "Dixie" closed the program, after which luncheon was served by the ladies of Waukesha.

The sixteenth meeting of the Society was held in the Congregational Church, Oconomowoc, September 2, 1914.

The Cushing Monument Committee reported on the work done and to be done at the Cushing Memorial Park, and asked for contributions. An immediate response added about seventy dollars to the fund. It is hoped the monument can be in place in time for dedication on October 27, 1914, the fiftieth anniversary of the sinking of the "Albemarle".

The custodian reported two hundred and three donations since the last meeting.

Fourteen new members were elected. Dinner was served by the Women's Relief Corps, the Social Circle, and the Fortnightly Club.

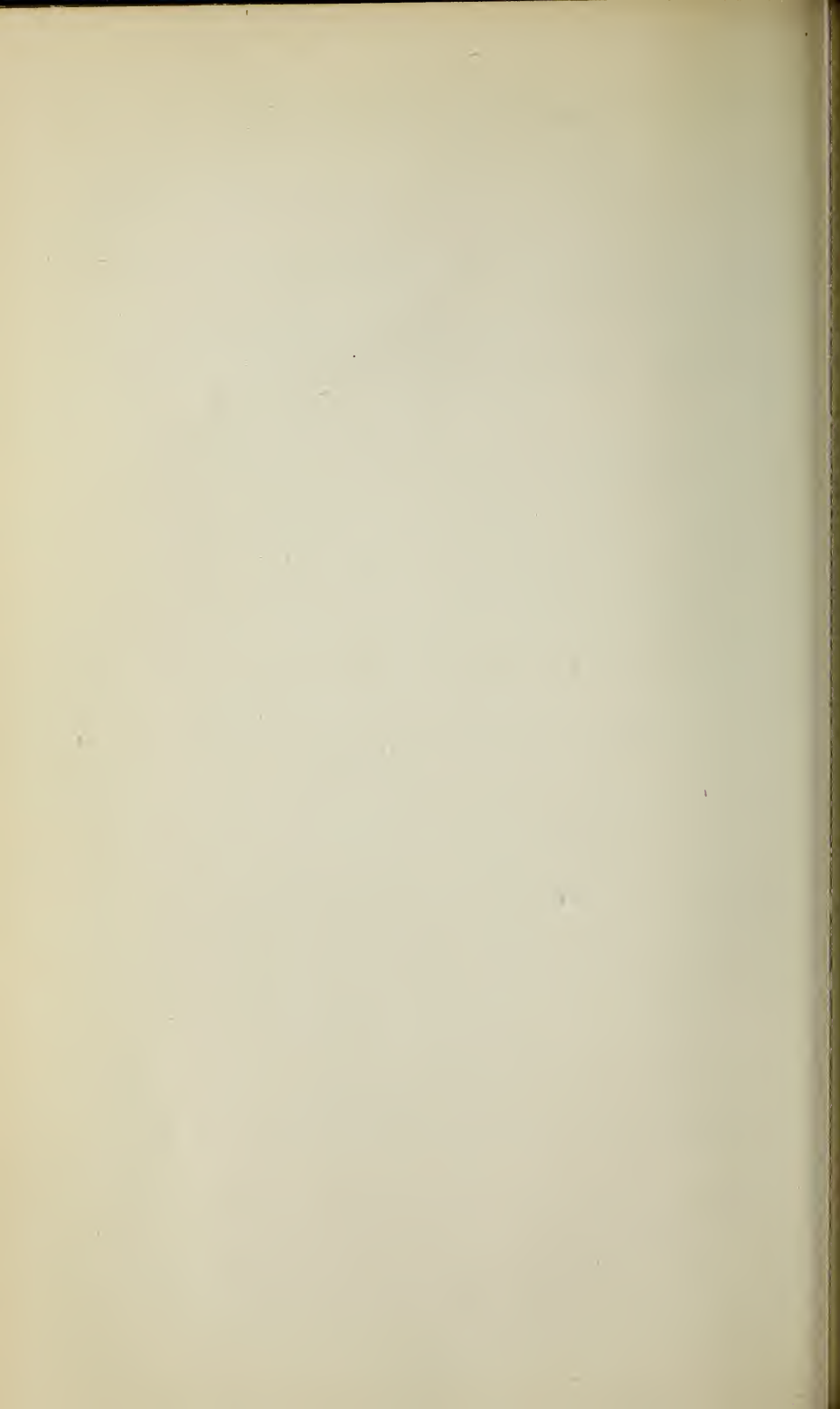
The afternoon session opened with a few words of welcome by Hugo A. Ernst, Mayor of Oconomowoc, and a response by James A. McKenzie, president of the Historical Society. A paper was then read by Miss Anna A. Slawson entitled the "Story of a Relic", the relic in question being the cannon in Cutler Park,

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Waukesha. Miss Mary E. Titchener's "Reminiscences" of early days in Waukesha were then read by Mr. O. P. Clinton. Miss Beth Engelhard, with Mrs. Roy Welch as accompanist, gave two pleasing solos with encores, and led in the singing of "America", which closed the meeting.

The citizens of Oconomowoc gave the members of the Society an automobile ride around La Belle Lake and to Oconomowoc Lake.

JULIA A. LAPHAM, *Secretary*



Historical Papers

Wisconsin Historical Society

Contributors of Historical Papers

Worthington Chauncey Ford ("The Treaty of Ghent—and After"), a man of varied scholarly achievements, is perhaps best known for his editorial work in the field of American history. From 1902 to 1909 he served as chief of the division of manuscripts of the Library of Congress. Since 1909 he has held the position of editor in the Massachusetts Historical Society. Among his more important publications in the field of American history may be mentioned *George Washington; Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789; Writings of George Washington*; and *Writings of John Quincy Adams*. The last mentioned work is still in process of publication.

Dr. Eben D. Pierce ("James Reed: First Permanent Settler in Trempealeau County and Founder of Trempealeau"), is a loyal member of the Society who writes of the locality in which he resides. Earlier contributions of Doctor Pierce to the Society's *Proceedings* have been, "Recollections of Antoine Grignon", published in 1904; "Early History of Trempealeau", published in 1906; "Settlement of Arcadia", published in 1909; and "Recollections of Antoine Grignon", published in 1913.

J. H. A. Lacher ("The Taverns and Stages of Early Wisconsin"), like Doctor Pierce a member of the Society, is a retired business man of Waukesha, who pursues the study of local history as an avocation. Another article by Mr. Lacher is under preparation for a future volume of the *Proceedings*.

Frederick Merk ("The Labor Movement in Wisconsin during the Civil War"), has been since 1911 a member of the Society's research staff. Most of his time hitherto has been devoted to the volumes of the Wisconsin History Commission series. Mr. Merk has under preparation a comprehensive indus-

Contributors of Historical Papers

trial and economic history of Wisconsin during the Civil War, which the society expects to publish the coming year.

Dr. Paul Radin ("A Semi-historical Account of the War of the Winnebago and the Foxes"), formerly of the Bureau of American Ethnology and the Canadian Bureau of Ethnology, is at present connected with the Geological Survey of Canada. He is the author of numerous articles on Indian ethnology, among which may be mentioned "The Influence of the Whites on Winnebago Culture", published in the Society's *Proceedings* for 1913.

Dr. Milo M. Quaife ("A Narrative of Life on the Old Frontier"), at present superintendent of the Society, has followed, thus far, the career of teacher and writer of history. Among his publications are, *The Doctrine of Non-intervention with Slavery in the Territories*; *The Diary of James K. Polk*; and *Chicago and the Old Northwest, 1673-1835*.

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The Treaty of Ghent, and After

By Worthington Chauncey Ford

A century of peace—a century of war, the contrast and parallelism attract the student of history. After a hundred years the situation has become clear; public archives have yielded their secrets, and private records supply material ranging from the lie direct to the egotistic exaggeration of a third rate non-entity. Today—in three months more history has been made than can be interpreted in a century. The extent of territory involved is no greater than a century ago, but the relations of peoples, of nations, and of continents are immensely more complex. The foolishness of the eighteenth century is repeating itself in the twentieth; the ambitions of rulers, the unscrupulous acts of political adventurers, the commercial and industrial struggle for markets, the closet schemes of dreamers of unity of race, or of brotherhood of man, all dominated by militarism, the rule of force—is this the summation of civilization? Yet no one can deny that the cause of the people has gained strength and definite results since 1800, and today stands higher than any conservative leader of England, or any disillusioned Jacobin of France could have predicted as among the possibilities. In this advance of popular rule the United States leads, and, barring most unusual accidents, the Europe of 1914 has established that leadership beyond all cavil.

Yet a century ago the United States was almost a pariah among nations, received and encouraged by Russia alone, herself classed with barbarism. The message of the French Revolution had lost itself in the overweening ambitions of a military despot; its force had been broken by the very factors he had

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counted upon for success. A new people, a novel policy, and the extraordinary power of political fanaticism acting upon suddenly freed slaves to feudal institutions, had run through an experience which ended in defeat and humiliation. Yet France had more possible points of contact with the United States than any other nation of Europe. The great rival was victorious, and England's supremacy on the ocean stood unquestioned by any power in Europe. After more than twenty years of war the Continent cried out for a peace—and by the irony of events, peace was about the only wish that was not to be gratified.

But the United States—this people who had failed miserably on land against Great Britain, and had for twenty years endured the insults of Great Britain and France with a supineness which only increased their insolence—how did it stand? Defeated on land, asserting itself with notable success on the sea, with a war power as yet undeveloped, torn by internal dissension and even facing disunion, its administration discredited, its finances on the brink of national bankruptcy, it eagerly welcomed the offer of Russia's mediation, and when that had been rejected by England, accepted direct negotiations with its enemy. By rights such a people should come as suitors, begging at the hands of Britain the right to be independent. Of undefined ideals, embarking upon a novel experiment in government it asked for sufferance. And even the place of meeting suggested a certain dependence, for Ghent was garrisoned by the British.

Between the offer of mediation and the naming of Ghent the military situation in Europe changed almost in a moment. There must be a peace because for the first time since 1792 France and Great Britain were at one on the question. At Paris the four great Powers in alliance against France outlined an agreement for disposing of French conquests and alliances. A *guerre de partage*, a war of partition opens. The United States—a suggestion had been made to invite it to be represented at an earlier congress at Prague; but why, only sentiment could explain. Great Britain insisted that her war with the States was a family affair, with which Europe was concerned only so far as Madison was an ally of Bonaparte. With

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the fall of Bonaparte that interest ceased. As to the Spanish American colonies, they could remain for the present—their commerce stood as their best asset, with Great Britain as chief beneficiary.¹

What were the questions at issue between the United States and Great Britain? The English summed them in the obnoxious words "Sailor's rights and free trade"—meaning by free trade that free bottoms should make free goods. To their rulers, these words summed up impossibilities, monstrous claims, to recognize which would jeopardize the British Empire. The Americans summarized the matters in dispute as impressment of seamen, allegiance, blockades, rights of neutrals, believing their desires moderate, and in the interests of mankind. Great Britain had already served notice on Europe that no discussion of her maritime rights or practices would be permitted,² and Europe bowed to the yoke, as England was the paymaster. Not one of the Powers, great or little, was willing or in a position to aid America in questioning England on the high seas. At Ghent the one subject not to be brought forward was that of maritime policy, of which the impressment of seamen formed a necessary part. Weeks before the commissioners of the two nations met, Gallatin knew this from his conversations in London, and had concluded that the most favorable terms of peace to be expected were the *status ante bellum*, and the postponement of other disputes to a better season.

So the British program concerned effects, not causes of the war, an Indian reservation, revision of boundaries, and the fishing rights or privileges. Further, as evidence of a sincere

¹In May, 1814, the Duke of Wellington suggested that in consideration for certain commercial advantages in the Spanish colonies "we would discourage and discountenance by every means in our power the rebellion in the Spanish colonies. Secondly, to promise to bind North America by a secret article in our treaty of peace, to give no encouragement, or countenance, or assistance, to the Spanish colonies." Duke of Wellington to Lord Castlereagh, May 25, 1814. *Letters and Despatches of Lord Castlereagh*, X, 44.

²At the Conference at Chatillon, February 5, 1814, Castlereagh had arranged that questions about the British maritime code should be completely banished from the discussion. See J. H. Rose, *Life of Napoleon* (New York, 1902), II, 389.

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desire for peace, a large expedition was about to sail for the United States under the command of Lord Hill. He publicly announced his intention to humble the Yānkees and quickly reduce them to submission. Thus offered inadmissible demands on the one hand, and war on the other, naturally the American commissioners doubted the desire of the English for peace, and looked upon the subjects laid down for discussion as intended merely to gain time. The British, bound by their instructions, and convinced of the moderation of their demands, were taken by surprise when the Americans without hesitation rejected their proposals, as naturally they entertained a like doubt of the intentions in America, and believed territorial conquest to be the real object.

In a situation like this personality counts for much. The records for measuring this personality are quite full. We have been amused by many attempts to determine the extent of each factor. The five Americans represented geographical as well as political elements—commerce, the West, diplomatic experience, and the administration. Few have written on the subject without describing the genial Clay, the solid Bayard, the explosive Adams, and the calm Gallatin. The differences among them, due to nature and education as well as to subject of negotiation, are emphasized and exaggerated to make a striking picture.

We might almost suppose the real peace to be made was among the five warring American agents. And the member who has left the most copious records is made to suffer the most in this comparison. In his *Memoirs*, John Quincy Adams has not spared himself in any respect. An infirmity of temper, self-admitted and under constant guard, colored his whole life, and the daily record gives to the *Memoirs* an element of confession—the confession of a flagellant, ever accompanied with an exaggeration of the sin. In that record Adams found relief as well as repentance, and his private or family letters offer the needed corrective. If he found an outlet for pressure of feeling in his daily entries in his journal, his drafts of dispatches served the same useful purpose. He groans over the treatment given to them by his colleagues; but half of what Gallatin wrote found no place in the final note, and seven-eighths of what

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Adams proposed was struck out. This was not at all strange, considering that the drafts of notes passed through the hands of each commissioner, and each was tenacious of his ideas of form, and substance. If Gallatin's matter received drastic editing, the others had no reason to complain of neglect, and Adams was the first to admit the advantage of the method, while crying out against the slaughter or mangling of his periods. Gallatin's composition, he said, with truth, is argumentative, and "mine is declamatory. He is always perfectly cool, and I in the judgment of my colleagues am often more than temperately warm. The style of the papers we receive is bitter as the quintessence of wormwood—arrogant, dictatorial, insulting—and we pocket it all with the composure of the Athenian who said to his adversary, 'Strike, but hear!' Now in all this tranquillity of endurance I fully acquiesce, because it may be more politic to suppress than to exhibit our just indignation. But when I first write I indulge my own feelings, well knowing that the castigation my draft has to pass through will strip it of all its inflammable matter. * * * The result of all this is, that the *tone* of all our papers is much more tame than I should make it, if I were alone. * * * Mr. Gallatin keeps and increases his influence over us all. It would have been an irreparable loss if our country had been deprived of the benefits of his talents in this negotiation."³ That seems not only a fair but a generous judgment. In truth there was an excess of individuality among the American commissioners. One expects temper in such a condition.

Pitted against them were three men whose abilities in negotiation were never tested. Perhaps they were never intended to be tested, for from the beginning to the end they served as messengers—receiving the American notes and sending them at once to London; receiving the replies from London and leaving them with the American commissioners. In no instance and on no point did they exercise initiative or discretion. It was the French caricature of the Malmesbury mission at Lille: "My Lord," he was asked, "I hope your Lordship is well this morning. * * * Indeed, Sir, I do not know, but I will send

³ John Quincy Adams to his wife, September 27, 1814. Ms.

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a courier to my Court and inquire." Lord Gambier, of sterling qualities, earned his peerage in the bombardment of Copenhagen, in conjunction with Cathcart, now representing Great Britain at St. Petersburg, whence Adams had just come. His family connections supported him in positions for which he was not fitted. As he gained little glory in the navy, so he acquired no distinction as a diplomatist. Henry Goulburn, now a young man of thirty, was destined to spend a long life in undistinguished mediocrity, serving more than forty years in Parliament, and filling respectably but not brilliantly many offices. Throughout life, when true responsibility was demanded, he gave way to others, an uninspired official, overshadowed by his abler and more conspicuous colleagues. The third member, William Adams, was an admiralty lawyer, and admiralty law then meant that barrier against all neutral commerce, that extreme protection of British trade, raised by Sir William Scott. We are told on the unimpeachable authority of the *Dictionary of National Biography* that Adams' "chief claim to distinction is the part he took in the negotiations for a treaty with the United States in 1814. * * * and [he] was entrusted with the sole preparation of the dispatches relating to maritime law, the most delicate and important part of the negotiation." Considering that maritime law did not figure at all in the negotiation, for the pacification of Europe seemed to make an arrangement of no immediate necessity, this claim to distinction becomes so shadowy as to be imponderable. But for the social side, the true negotiation on the British part might have been entrusted to the King's messengers. As the French representatives at Prague their hands were tied, but as their mouths and legs were free they could walk about and dine. In reality the American commissioners had against them the Cabinet and Ministry in London.

Yet the three British represented no mean strength when delay counted as gain. After a test in conference Adams concluded that any one of the Americans was a match for the brightest of the English mission; and "for extent and copiousness of information, for sagacity and shrewdness of comprehension, for vivacity of intellect and fertility of resource, there is certainly not among them a man equal to Mr. Gallatin. I

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doubt whether there is among them a man of the powers of the Chevalier [Bayard]. In all our transactions, hitherto we have been much indebted to the ability of both these gentlemen for the ascendancy in point of argument which we have constantly maintained over our antagonists.”⁴ That was written early in September. More than three months later, after many trying episodes Adams wrote: “Of the five members of the American mission the Chevalier has the most perfect control of his temper, the most deliberate coolness; and it is the more meritorious because it is real self-command. His feelings are as quick, and his spirit as high as those of any one among us; but he certainly has them more under government. I can scarcely express to you how much both he and Mr. Gallatin have risen in my esteem since we have been here, living together. Mr. Gallatin has not quite so constant a supremacy over his own emotions; yet he seldom yields to an ebullition of temper, and recovers from it immediately. * * * He has in his character one of the most extraordinary combinations of stubbornness and flexibility that I ever met with in man. His greatest fault I think to be an ingenuity sometimes intrenching upon ingenuousness.” Clay, this severe critic of self thought resembled himself, as under the influence of irritability. “There is the same dogmatical, overbearing manner, the same harshness of look and expression, and the same forgetfulness of the courtesies of society in both. An impartial person judging between them I think would say that one has the strongest, and the other the most cultivated understanding; that one has the most ardency, and the other the most experience of mankind; that one has a mind more gifted by nature, and the other a mind less cankered by prejudice. Mr. Clay is by ten years the younger man of the two, and as such has perhaps more claim to indulgence for irritability.”⁵

At so great a distance from their government as to make consultation and timely instructions out of the question; without a single supporter of their claims in Europe; and with the tide of military events in America drifting all in favor of their enemy, the situation of the American commissioners called for

⁴ *Ibid*, September 9, 1814. Ms.

⁵ *Ibid*, December 16, 1814. Ms.

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truly superior qualities. Even his bitterest enemies admitted Gallatin's abilities, worldly in their aims but showing a certainty of insight and a rare degree of diplomatic finesse which made him a leader of men. He gained his ends by directness and sheer mastery; and he won victory by inspiring confidence in his fairness and balanced judgment. In contrast Adams is generally placed, the Puritan and uncompromising advocate, of quick temper and harsh speech, the maker of enemies, and the spirit of opposition. I make no plea against this generally accepted verdict; but feel that it is based upon partial—though his own—statements, and may be modified by other evidence. If Gallatin's character and abilities are admitted, and they are not open to question, is it not suggestive that Gallatin and Adams are almost invariably found standing together, and against their colleagues? The two men had not been thrown together in politics, a common bond of ambition; but their first association occurred under the trying climate and conditions of St. Petersburg. Particularly trying to Gallatin, for after months of waiting he learned that the Senate had refused to confirm him in the mission, a rebuff as personal as it was undeserved; less trying to Bayard, who chafed under the long and to him inexplicable delay under the offer of mediation; perhaps equally so to Adams, who, as the accredited minister to the Russian court, was the recognized channel of communication with the Emperor, and who bore with the discontent of his colleagues. Yet when Gallatin left St. Petersburg in March, a discredited and disappointed commissioner, it was not mere words of form he used in writing to Adams: "Permit me to add that I am happy to have made your acquaintance, and to have learned how to appreciate your merit".⁶ This association in St. Petersburg, Ghent, and London, laid the foundation of mutual esteem between the two men, which continued to the end.⁷ A spirit of generous recognition found wanting in Clay

⁶ March 6, 1814. Ms. "Both the Adamses were the purest men and the most earnest searchers after truth the United States ever had. What they say is often indiscreet, but their actions, never. They are always open to conviction." Gallatin to Lieber in 1832. *Life and Letters of Francis Lieber* (Boston, 1882), 96.

⁷ James Gallatin, secretary to his father, in July, at St. Petersburg, noted: "Mr. Adams very civil—but has a disagreeable manner. He

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and Russell controlled them. Clay and Russell indulged in criticism of their colleagues shameless in its extreme littleness.⁸ Bayard had the good fortune to die somewhat in the light of martyrdom.

Ghent did not promise many amusements to its visitors, now of some number, as the commissioners were eagerly approached and closely watched by the many British and Americans who sought openly commercial gain from the issue. July 4, incidentally celebrated by an impromptu toast to Bayard, offered the first diversion; but a stream of titled notables, from Czar to princeling, returning from the conference in London, produced a stage effect of some interest. With the courage of their present feelings of harmony the five Americans determined to live in one house and have a common table; and this they obtained from one who kept a shop of millinery, perfumery, prints, and drawings. He possessed the further advantage of having been bred a cook, so he united the offices of landlord and purveyor. A short experience developed unlovely traits. He had not furnished the house completely and elegantly, according to the agreement, and though well paid he required a scolding once or twice a week to make him provide even tolerable fare. Who knows if indigestion did not play a part in inducing the irritability so much dwelt upon by the picturesque historians?

The first conferences and notes in the mission produced mutual surprises. It was due not to the demands on the one hand, and the prompt rejection on the other, so much as to the cool measuring of either side under the smooth words of formal diplomacy. Goulburn admitted that he found an unexpected candor and openness in the Americans, and believed that he and his colleagues had shown restraint in passing over the openings given by their opponents for sharp retorts. Had he seen or heard the comments of the Americans on the proposals and the manner of making them, his self-complacency would have been

is from New England—a 'Yankee.' In December he wrote: "Mr. Adams has shown great kindness to me; at first I did not like him, but now will be sorry when we part." *Diary in Scribner's Magazine*, LVI, 352, 357.

⁸ See Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, XLIV, 308.

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rudely shaken. The British demands were inadmissible in themselves, and were placed with brutal directness—you must take them, or continue the war. They left no opening for discussion, and were never intended to be discussed. In a few days Castlereagh, premier of the Cabinet, passed through Ghent on his way to Vienna, but saw none of the American mission. He gave new suggestions to his agents, who were on the following day, as Adams notes, “charged fourfold with obnoxious substance.” An exchange of written notes followed, and a break seemed inevitable, a matter of a few hours. Castlereagh subsequently admitted that the British commissioners had pursued a wrong course, though acting under their instructions; offering the Americans an advantage. The American reply to their note he thought impudent and capable of an irresistible answer. Liverpool had never read a paper more easy to refute. But to break on such demands would unite America. An irreconcilable difference faced those at Ghent, and both parties saw only one termination to the business—no peace and further war. A single word, and all conference, friendly or otherwise, would come to an end. Only an engagement to dine with the British prevented the Americans from dispersing, for not one entertained a hope of further negotiation.

At the dinner, the hosts entertained “as courteously as could be expected”. A spat occurred between Bayard and the English Adams, the former a sportsman describing a new fowling piece, primed by one grain of fulminating powder, price fifty guineas. “The Doctor thought that no fowling piece could be called good for anything that cost more than five guineas. He hinted to the Chevalier that his fifty guinea musket was a *gim-crack*—a philosophical whimsey, better for shooting a *problem* than a *partridge*; and he was as liberal of his sarcasms upon *philosophy* as he could have been, if delivering a dissertation upon gunboats and dry-docks. The choice of the person upon whom this blunderbuss of law discharged its volley of ridicule against philosophy diverted us all, and you may judge how much it delighted our colleague of the Treasury [Gallatin]. The Chevalier pronounces our namesake to be a man of no breeding.”⁹ Adams himself, after raising the question of a

⁹ John Quincy Adams to his wife, August 30, 1814. Ms.

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common ancestry, willingly allowed the question to drop, satisfied that there could be nothing in common between his family and that of the Welshman bearing the same name.

But the diplomatic game had not been played and the British had no intention of giving their adversaries so advantageous grounds for making the war popular in America. Cession of territory, abandonment of the lakes, practical disarmament—were they dictating to a conquered people? Despise your enemy as you may, an insult is often of greater efficacy in arousing spirited opposition than a defeat in the field. The interchange of notes settling nothing continued, and the Americans gained confidence because the British had not broken with them, when none of them had the slightest doubt that a break had been deliberately intended. Time favored the British, for at any moment they might win a decisive victory on land, and rest in a position to say on what terms peace could be purchased.¹⁰

From the press of that time few items of value can be garnered. On the continent a free press did not exist, and even at Ghent the press gave little notice to what was passing beyond the exchange of visits by the commissioners. The English papers were better served by correspondents, occasional and at times anonymous, by speculators' agents eager for news to affect the market. The false as well as the true would serve this purpose, and the proportion of falsehood far surpassed that of truth. The ministerial papers were the greatest sinners, but the opposition in its efforts to be fairer to the cause of peace was quite as outspoken against the American position. At times a bit of humor resulted. There was the standing charge of Madison's alliance with Napoleon, with whom he was believed to be in constant and friendly correspondence. The influence of Russia was believed to overshadow the early meetings of the commissioners, and rumor persistently asserted that a Russian commissioner would attend and direct the course of the American mission. The day came—September 15—when two distinguished strangers, apparently of very high rank, accom-

¹⁰ The Cabinet played for delay, believing their notes would be referred to Washington and in the meantime every point on the Canadian frontier needed to be retained would be captured. Liverpool to Castle-reagh, September 2, 1814.

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panied by the Intendant of the city, entered the hotel of the Americans. Almost at the same moment the British commissioners and secretaries arrived. All doubts were at an end; the strangers were the expected Russian mediators. Expresses were sent to London and Liverpool with the intelligence, cotton and tobacco the object. Alas! The distinguished strangers were representatives of the Sovereign Prince of Holland, making a visit of ceremony. The ruffled market resumed its monotonous character, journalistic pride was satisfied, and the impossible, as is not unusual, had not happened. Russia gave no weight in the negotiation in favor of the United States.

No reassuring note came from the military operations in the United States. In the face of active preparations in England for a crushing campaign by sea and by land, the helplessness of the United States to meet it seemed beyond question. More than ever America stood alone. From St. Petersburg the commissioners were told that the question of maritime rights would not be raised at Vienna; and from Paris, they learned that if the desired policy of a strict neutrality was departed from, it would take action against the claims of the United States. From England only threats of war's terrors came from press and officials. "In short," said the *Courier*, September 21, 1814, "the whole coast [of the United States] is one scene of alarm and apprehension. This is as it should be." Six days later the news of the destruction of the public buildings in Washington reached England—a practical lecture, which, it was believed, would dispose the Americans to an immediate peace upon the British terms. The British jubilation was loud, but Wellington noted that the intelligence of this achievement increased the ill-temper and rudeness shown to the British in Paris, and complained that the public press of that city, though wholly under control of the government, canvassed the incident in a very unfair manner. His position was suggestive, for he despised the continental press. At this very time Liverpool was writing of the moderation of the British proposals at Ghent, and of the Ministry's willingness to let Madison remain in office because of his weakness and his probable readiness to make peace for the purpose of getting out of his difficulties.

Two months of apparently fruitless negotiation would tell upon the best of natures. Goulburn somewhat tactlessly told

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Gallatin he relied upon his good sense and could treat with him, as he "was not the least like an American".¹¹ The son, who overheard the intended compliment, said he did not know if his father was pleased or not. Adams wrote to Crawford (October 5) that he had never for an instant believed that peace was practicable, and that Clay was the only commissioner who had occasionally entertained hopes that it might be.

That Clay's optimism, most active when his colleagues were most depressed, offered a relief from their gloomy forecasts has been much dwelt upon. Though a personal asset, it was not a factor in the situation. Clay was throughout life much of a dreamer, and his performance savors of a natural exuberance of temper rather than of political insight. The Presidency and the elections of 1816—even in the hours of anxious waiting at Ghent the subject was not far away in the minds of some of the Commissioners, and Clay showed greater disappointment and apprehension at the final treaty than all his colleagues together. Both Clay and Russell thought that Gallatin, "whose origin prescribes him in the honest prejudices of the nation", intended, so far as his influence availed, to confer the Presidency upon Adams, "a kind of laborious pedant, without judgment enough to be useful, or taste sufficient to be admired."¹² But Clay alone feared the effect of the treaty upon his own political hopes.

Among the curiosities of record, however, must be placed the outpouring of confidence by the staidest member of the mission—Bayard. After the dinner given to the members of the two missions by the Intendant of the city he took Goulburn aside and entertained, if not puzzled, that gentleman by a disquisition on parties in the United States, their views and objects, the grounds on which they had hitherto proceeded, and the effect which a hostile or conciliatory disposition on the part of Great Britain might have upon them. He inculcated how much it was for her interest to support the Federalists, and if

¹¹ Goulburn expressed the same idea to Bathurst, that he found Gallatin alone of the American commissioners "in any degree sensible, and this perhaps arises from his being less like an American than any of his colleagues". September 23, 1814.

¹² Mass. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, XLIV, 311.

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impossible demands prevented peace, the party of which he was a member would be sacrificed to their adversaries.¹³ On Castle-reagh such a post-prandial confidence produced its effect. Knowing what party government involved, he thought the varieties of party represented in the mission would prevent its agreeing to any measure of responsibility, not to add the imperfect security that if they did agree their act would receive approval at home.¹⁴ Bayard's openness was said to have been imitated by other of the Americans, with the result of convincing Goulburn that the Federalists were quite as inveterate enemies of Great Britain as the Madisonians. Yet the English bureaucrat looked upon the British notes and the demands embodied in them as likely to make a considerable impression on the "reasonable people" in the United States. The result of such a campaign of education would have disappointed a less self-centered schoolmaster. A Cockburn proved a more capable developer of national opinion, quite as capable in that direction as the best of political propagandists—George Canning. It may be doubted if either master had reason to be gratified by the results.

If the earlier notes of the British bore evidence of having been suggested in Downing Street; the later were wholly made there. Beginning with the instructions calculated even now to awaken amazement by the demands they embodied, the high tone continued but in diminishing terms to the end. If the first *sine qua non* laid down by the English offered no difficulty for returning a decided negative, the subsequent notes rasped by the arrogance of tone natural to the English diplomat. Adams resented the "domineering and insulting style", and would retort in kind; but quickly recognized an altered procedure on the part of the adversary. The British note of October 8, bearing the Cabinet stamp, contained "much more show of argument, falsehoods less liable to immediate and glaring exposure, misrepresentations more sheltered from instant detection, and sophistry generally more plausible than they had thought it worth while to take the trouble of putting into the former

¹³ Goulburn to Bathurst, August 23, 1814.

¹⁴ Castlereagh to Liverpool, August 28, 1814.

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notes."¹⁵ But a decided concession had been made, and the English had yielded on the most important issue, offering an opening for further negotiation, or rather determining whether there should be any negotiation at all.

If delay told in favor of the British in America, it told in favor of the Americans at Ghent, where they gained the good will of the people. An English garrison occupied the city, and no occupation involving quartering on houses and levying of tribute is popular. Much as the continent owed to Great Britain for aid in overthrowing Napoleon, the English exhibited qualities that made them generally disliked and often hated.¹⁶ In the actual case two sentinels in scarlet always stood at the door of the building of the English plenipotentiaries; the regiments in occupation demanded food from the inhabitants of the city; and the Ghent merchants complained of the competition caused by the rush of British manufactures into the newly opened markets of the continent. Personally, too, the English commissioners made little effort to conciliate this hostile feeling. They lived as secluded as the old monks of the Chartreux where they resided, and Lord Gambier, nearly three months after coming to Ghent, plaintively admitted that the acquaintance of himself and colleagues was confined to the family of the city's Intendant.

The Americans, on the other hand, had made themselves agreeable, and on September 29 had given a tea and card party which ended in a ball, and about one hundred and thirty of the principal noblesse and merchants attended. The garden was illuminated by colored lamps, and here is what Adams wrote of it: "The elderly ladies and gentlemen had cards and the young people danced. The ball was très animé, and finished with a romping Boulangère at three in the morning. * * * Mr. Gallatin and myself were, as Boyd says, the ringleaders. We had never seen and knew not the names of about half the company, but they all appeared to be highly pleased with their en-

¹⁵ John Quincy Adams to his wife, October 11, 1814. Ms.

¹⁶ "[The British] are hated everywhere, and I think that we begin to grow popular." Gallatin to Monroe, October 26, 1814. *Writings of Gallatin*, I, 643.

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tertainment. Our garden was illuminated, and at a central gate was the following inscription:

Gand voudroit dans ses murs
Voir, par un désir sincère,
Regler les destins futurs
De l'Amérique et l'Angleterre.
Puisse enfin l'arbre de Pallas
Fleurir sur le sol des deux mondes
Ah! sur la terre et sur l'onde,
Repose toi, Dieu des combats!¹⁷

None of the English mission attended.

The social advance bore fruit, and as winter approached the Americans were offered much social attention, as much as the gayest of the mission could wish. Weekly subscription concerts and *redoutes* or balls began in November, and the American commission had a box at the theater, with three or four performances each week. The company was French, and according to Adams, who had seen much of the European theaters, "without exception the worst I ever saw. There is but one tolerable actor, and not one actress in the whole troupe. Occasionally they have had one good singer, male, but he had a figure like Sancho Panza; and one female, but she was sixty years old and had lost her teeth. Sometimes they bring out rope dancers and sometimes dancers without ropes, who are rambolling about the country, and half fill the houses two or three nights; but the standards of the stage are the veriest histrionic rabble that my eyes ever beheld. Yet they have a very good orchestra of instrumental performers, very decent scenery, and a sufficient variety of it; and a wardrobe of elegant and even magnificent dresses. * * * Some of us are very constant attendants. Mr. Gallatin and James never miss. They have become intimately acquainted with the whole troupe. All our family have become in a manner domesticated behind the scenes, with a single exception. Who that is you may conjecture."¹⁸

Then a company of English strolling players drifted to Ghent, and after playing three times solicited the permission to

¹⁷ John Quincy Adams to his wife, September 30, 1814. Ms.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, November 15, 1814. Ms.

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advertise themselves as performing under the patronage of the American mission. Their plea was that it would prove the best expedient for filling the house. The request was declined, but a subscription of five napoleons for five seats was paid. The players wound up the night's performance by singing God Save the King, with its prayer "Scatter his enemies". Had this been under the patronage of the Americans, the scene would have been humorous. A few days later at a concert the program announced "Hail Columbia, Air américain à grand orchestre". The Hanoverian officers received an order from authority to leave the hall when that air was played; but fortunately the order was revoked during the evening. The air became popular and the manner of introducing it deserves mention. The Americans were asked if there was a national air. "Oh yes! there was Hail Columbia! Had any of us got it noted? No. Could any body sing or play it? This was an embarrassing question. But Peter, Mr. Gallatin's black man could *whistle* it, and whistle it he did; and one of the musicians of the city noted it from Peter's whistling; and Hughes then remembered that he could scrape it, *tant bien que mal*, upon the fiddle, and he could sing some verses of it when he was alone. And from these elements the tune was made out, and partitioned, and announced as *l'air national de Américanis à grand orchestre*, and now it is everywhere played as a counterpart to God save the King."¹⁹

November came. The commissioners had overcome the difficulties of the preliminaries, and were ready to proceed with a treaty. Points of etiquette arose from time to time, of little importance in themselves, but dear to the formalist, who found behind them protection from that too great exertion which often commits him to entangling concessions. At this point, when it became necessary to take a view of the entire field of negotiation, the harmony existing among the American commissioners was threatened. Perfect unanimity could hardly be expected, for enough matter of controversy remained to awaken any latent sectional feeling among the envoys. In clearing the ground of inadmissible claims and demands, in passing over topics eliminated from even a perfunctory discussion, the field was

¹⁹ *Ibid*, January 24, 1815. Ms.

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narrowed, but attention became concentrated upon the unsettled questions with an intensity auguring ill for any agreement. Cataloguing the points to be covered, the project of a treaty was sent to the British commissioners November 10. From inadmissible propositions the English had passed to the principle of *uti possidetis*, hardly less acceptable to the Americans, because it involved a cession of territory. Now the Americans offered the *status ante bellum* for all subjects of dispute between the two countries leaving all else to future and pacific discussion. This proposition originated in Adams, was not at that time authorized by their instructions, and had been accepted only after a severe contest with Clay.²⁰ The time the project was delivered to the British gave food for reflection. Sir Edward Pakenham had sailed to America with large reinforcements, urged to make such an impression on the Yankees as would compel them to sue for peace. The British exchequer faced that trying moment when Parliament must be asked to give very large sums for measures the value of which hung in the balance. Policy, party or national, takes on queer aspects to the burdened taxpayer when expressed in pounds, shillings, and pence. On November 8 the Prince Regent had expressed a desire for peace, but the discussions in Parliament, controlled by the Ministry, indicated a desire rather to await military successes in America and diplomatic vantage at Vienna, and to frame the peace accordingly.

While the negotiation stood in this somewhat ticklish position, there came one of those novelties in diplomacy which gave a shock to the old school. In September the American commissioners had sent by the "John Adams" an account of their first conferences with the British envoys and the proposals by them laid down as a *sine qua non* to any treaty. The ship reached New York early in October, and the dispatches, giving little expectation of a favorable issue, were at once laid before Congress and published. The effect in the United States could not have been happier, for the claims of the British tended to bring all factions into a determination to push the war. But in Europe the result was dramatically different.

²⁰ "Mr. Clay would not assent to any thing." James Gallatin's Diary, October 30.

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The papers submitted to Congress by the President reached London on Saturday, November 19, and were reprinted in all the journals as "most important".²¹ The ministerial organ believed the negotiations at an end; the press of the opposition could not "compliment their negotiators upon their adroitness or skill". The one asserted that the British claims were just; the other that those demands had been so unfortunately expressed as to give an impression that much more would be required. In private Liverpool spoke of Madison's scandalous action in making this communication of papers and charged the President with falsehood. In Parliament the same minister stated that the government did not intend to follow the unjustifiable example of America, "in the unprecedented proceeding of publishing a partial and garbled account of the commencement of a negotiation still pending." Lansdowne very properly suggested that if the American papers were partial, they made it necessary for the government to counteract the mischievous effects likely to result in Europe as well as in America. For his part, the papers proved that the principle on which the war had been commenced had been utterly changed. It was no longer a war for a principle vital to national existence, said the Earl of Donoughmore, but one of their own aggrandisement, and the destruction of the American naval frontier. In the House Baring spoke of the "extraordinary pretensions" raised in the British mission, based upon ignorance of the public feeling in America, and calculated to unite that country against Great Britain; but the debate drifted into a futile discussion on the power of Congress or the President to cede territory. When the British Commissioners at Ghent learned of the publication, such was their indignation that Gallatin thought they would break the negotiations. Yet as in the X. Y. Z. mission open diplomacy scored a real victory over secret.

By the end of November the points at issue had been reduced to so few in number and so unimportant in nature as to make peace all but assured. What remained, unimportant as they were, involved points of national honor; it was as impossible to cede a few hundred acres of national territory as a principality;

²¹ They appeared in the *Courier*, November 19 and 21; and in the *Morning Chronicle*, November 21.

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and the American commissioners were by no means agreed on the final stand to make. The fisheries and the Mississippi proved a source of constant bickering and discussion, especially between Clay and Adams. Even Gallatin's tact and patience threatened to fail.

More than that Adams' pride in country received a severe shock by the proceedings of the Massachusetts legislature in appointing delegates to the Hartford Convention. Convinced as he was that the extreme Federalists had meditated and plotted disunion since 1804, the conduct of New England during the war and this evidence of settled opposition to the measures of the national administration seemed unquestionable proof of his fears.²² The "demon of disunion" haunted him at a time when he was struggling to maintain the rights and liberties of Massachusetts under the treaty of 1783. The differences between the commissioners had been narrowed to this: the fisheries, the navigation of the Mississippi, the boundary, and certain small islands in Passamaquoddy Bay. Three of these questions specially concerned Massachusetts, and Adams stood as the champion of Massachusetts. To learn that the State was at this time entering into what he could only interpret as a scheme of separation from the Union, embittered his heart. To select a time of national distress for such a "mad and wicked project of national suicide", gave aid and comfort to the enemy.

An influence now intervened of which nothing was suspected until a few weeks ago the Gallatin diary gave the evidence. That the Cabinet wished the Duke of Wellington to take the command in America has been known; as well as his rejection of the offer and the reasons given. With calm force he told his masters they could not rightly claim territory in America by conquest, and advised peace. He went further, and wrote direct to Gallatin saying he was urging peace and believed it to be at hand. Gallatin's reply can only be conjectured; it must

²² Liverpool counted upon this movement to secure a ratification of the peace. "The disposition to separate on the part of the Eastern States may likewise frighten Madison; for if he should refuse to ratify the treaty, we must immediately propose to make a separate treaty with them, and we have good reason to believe that they would not be indisposed to listen to such a proposal." To Castlereagh, December 23, 1814.

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have been favorable. Wellington again wrote pledging his support, and praising Gallatin's moderation and sense of justice; but as a foreigner, fighting for the peace of his adopted country. This time, the son adds, his father was pleased to be called a foreigner.²³

Undoubtedly Wellington's influence was powerful and exerted pressure in the best manner. The Cabinet faced heavy peace expenditures and, if war continued, a renewal of the unpopular "property tax". The winter of 1813-14, the longest and severest for forty years, had a bad effect upon grain crops; and neither shipping nor manufactures were reaping the profits expected from the reopening of continental Europe to British trade. The war with America had never become popular, and was now described as that "miserable little war". Even under a Tory government the popular feeling made itself felt, and gave the ministers great anxiety for the future. To tax the people for a new boundary in Canada, to continue a war for no good reason of empire, would invite overthrow, the worst of all punishments, when families ruled and individuals swayed nations. The instructions to Ghent imposed peace, and the commissioners reluctantly obeyed—Goulburn the most reluctantly of all.

In December couriers between London and Ghent were more frequent, owing to the much increased interest in the outcome of the negotiation. The newspapers printed contradictory reports, based upon letters from Ghent, and noted the more frequent meetings of the Cabinet. With this constant watch upon their proceedings, the commissioners at Ghent permitted not a word or even look to escape them capable of interpretation. The rumors of the street, the reports of the interested, the ambiguous sentences in foreign journals, and the naval and mili-

²³ James Gallatin's Diary, November 28 and December 12. It is remarkable that Gallatin never confided the fact of these letters to his colleagues on the mission; more remarkable that he concealed it from Madison and Monroe. The extracts given by the son place the fact beyond dispute. Liverpool knew as early as November 4 that Wellington was anxious for peace with America, if it could be had on terms at all honorable. It was proposed to give Wellington the military command with power to negotiate a peace. The suggestion is a reminder of the peace commission of 1776.

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tary preparations gave little real food to the hungry. In fact nothing was known; the secret was remarkably well kept, and the funds rose and fell without cause, too uncertain a barometer to measure any but the idle thought of the speculator. Betting became active—on December 9 £25 to receive £100 if the preliminaries were signed on or before January 1; seven days later, 30, 35, and 40 guineas to return £100 on the same event; and some more venturesome sports wagered £10 to receive £100 if peace were made known before twelve o'clock that night.²⁴ On Saturday, December 24, the *Courier* gave the information "that the proceedings at Ghent afforded no prospect of an amicable issue"; on the 27th it announced the signing of the peace. Wagers had risen to 75 guineas to receive 100, the market was in a hurricane, even before the authoritative announcement. In twenty-four hours calm returned, and with a sigh of relief all save the speculators agreed that not one cause existed for continuing the war. That in reality had been the situation for months. New Orleans came as a woeful echo.

Thus ended the Ghent negotiation. The real causes of the war received no mention in the treaty; the settlement of disputed points raised by the war was postponed. But peace and a peaceful solution of controversies had been obtained, in itself a triumph. The course of the negotiation had run as usual; mutual distrust and suspicion, a belief that either party proposed insidiously and labored to deceive, and a common interpretation of demands and argument as arrogant and insolent. Outwardly courteous, with occasional evidences of the bully or the pettifogging lawyer, the commissioners had met, discussed, and fought to good purpose. If the British enjoyed greater harmony among themselves, it is because of the insignificance of their labors: of what passed in the Cabinet councils in London we know nothing. The disputes among the Americans, natural because of the heavy responsibilities laid upon them, did not delay or really endanger the successful issue one hour. Patriots all, no essential could divide them; in the presence of the British they were unanimous.

Further, it made a lasting peace. Suppose the war had con-

²⁴ *Morning Journal*, December 9, 1814.

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tinued, would not either side have become convinced of the rooted and vindictive animosity of the other? No reasonable cause for carrying on hostilities remained, and the unreasonable causes must rest upon territorial greed or the blindness to national interest which war is so apt to pervert into madness. In either event the feelings engendered would be of hate and revenge.

Out of this ordeal the Americans emerged with much increased prestige. They had fought as single-handed in negotiation as they had in field or on the sea. The British commissioners were informed each day of what the great powers were doing, or intended to do. Not one of these powers so much as sent a single message of aid or hope to the American negotiators. Gallatin believed all continental Europe desired the war between the United States and Great Britain to continue. For the United States they cared nothing; but they rejoiced to have England occupied elsewhere and eventually weakened. With this neglect and feeling among the rulers, the public opinion of Europe was decidedly in favor of America.²⁵

I have dwelt upon the lighter side of this negotiation, for it offers a relief to the daily news of civilized butchery we read. The negotiation at Ghent represents the best of American diplomacy—the issues were clear, and the conduct fearless; the negotiators were able, and their harmony under the circumstances extraordinary. Traditions of European diplomacy were broken, but that has come to be the traditional method of American diplomacy. The treaty ended a war which had lost an objective; it ended it without the sacrifice of a single right due to the United States. The position of the American commissioners was entirely correct, and had been maintained under trying conditions. For a wonder the treaty satisfied both peoples, and nine months later Gallatin noticed that British antipathy and prejudices against America had been modified; and in spite of the access of pride occasioned by English success on the Continent of Europe, further rupture was improbable. Peace with the United States had become good policy.²⁶

²⁵ Gallatin to Monroe, December 25, 1814. *Writings of Gallatin*, I, 645.

²⁶ *Ibid*, September 4, 1815. Adams, *Writings of Gallatin*, I, 650.

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While the Ghent commission labored for peace, another congress of negotiators assembled in November at Vienna. Imperial pomp and circumstance threw around it the glamor of a theater; the number and high repute of the performers attracted the eyes of Christendom; the questions to be settled were those incident to a vulgar distribution of spoils. Friedrich von Gentz, the secretary of the Congress, in almost brutal frankness tells us that this was the object of that assembly. "The grand phrases of 'reconstruction of social order', 'regeneration of the political system of Europe', 'a lasting peace founded on a just division of strength', etc., etc., were uttered to tranquilise the people, and to give an air of dignity and grandeur to this solemn assembly; but the real purpose of the Congress was to divide amongst the conquerors the spoils taken from the vanquished."²⁷ Peace, so ardently longed for by all Europe, exhausted by its sufferings under Napoleonic ambitions, had been secured, it was believed, by the abdication of Napoleon, and the creation of the toy kingdom on Elba. The common enemy of Europe left an intestate estate, the origin of discord for more than a century. A general peace—an universal peace, and at least a partial disarmament—prayed for by the people, was a "political poem", the dream of such an impractical thinker as Immanuel Kant.²⁸

To the Congress of Vienna each nation or dependency sent its ablest men. Four powers controlled the objects of the Congress—Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia—the order of importance would be difficult to fix. Being allies, they were fairly agreed in the face of Napoleon, and at dagger's point when a question of self-interest arose. The conquests and dependencies of France offered the spoils, to be divided as ruthlessly and with as little regard to justice or race as a cargo of slaves from Africa on the auction block. When Talleyrand, the representative of the Bourbons imposed upon France by the powers, called for a cessation of the spirit of revolution, and the guarding of all legitimate rights as sacred, he spoke from the bitter experience and situation of France. When he demanded

²⁷ Memoir of February 12, 1815. Metternich, *Memoirs* (New York, 1880-82), II, 553.

²⁸ His "Project of a perpetual Peace" appeared in 1806.

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the condemnation of all ambition, or unjust enterprise, he recognized that he was one of the Forty Thieves, with nothing to gain in the division. And by raising the issue of legitimacy and seeking to protect the smaller states he restored the prestige of France in the councils of Europe. This in spite of his character and career. A country dance of the period bore his name—the Talleyrand, and the measures described the progress of his political life: change sides—cast off—back again—down the middle—and change sides again.

A real and permanent equilibrium of states—the words have a strange sound when tested by a century of European history. In the Congress of Vienna Great Britain had nothing to ask, for she had already obtained all she desired. She threw her influence in uniting Prussia and Austria against the growth of Russia. Russia demanded the Duchy of Warsaw, one of those quasi independent states, touching upon the borders of three great powers, each one scheming to get the whole or a part for itself. Austria, suspicious of Prussia, somewhat fearful of Russia, and jealous of French influence in Italy, received only a part of what it desired, unable to contend alone with its quondam allies. Prussia, greedy for Saxony, must rest satisfied with a partial payment of its demand notes; but greatly strengthened by an increase of territory and recognition it entered upon a career which has made it long the arbiter of Europe in peace. A number of states were set aside, neutralized, or placed under this or that Power, with a freedom and assurance which shake one's faith in statesmanship. Belgium and Holland formed a buffer state till 1838. The Duchy of Warsaw touched upon three of the powers, as prize for the most unscrupulous or the most chivalric. Poland is a synonym for oppression and continuous upheaval. The Principalities—the Balkan provinces—it is only necessary to mention them to raise the memory of contention as yet unended. The doctrine of inferior races has been a godsend to the statesman who seeks to establish an equilibrium of force in Europe—the theory long upheld by force of a balance of power,²⁹ the source of uncounted evils to all concerned. These small weights in the balance thrown from one

²⁹ See C. F. Adams, *The Monroe Doctrine and Mommsen's Law* (Boston, 1914).

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scale to the other have been productive of more international differences than a century can heal.

The vicious principle existed long before the Congress of Vienna; by accepting it new life was infused into the exhausted powers of the Continent, a life to be devoted to building up of rival nationalities, of machines of destruction, appalling by their size, momentum, and possibilities. To place any people under a complicated, artificial government, dependent upon the good will and interested oversight of two or more strong powers, is to plant the seeds of discord. The loyalty and the prudence of the powers are subjected to constant temptation to interfere; and the centrolled race feels its subjection as a badge of slavery and an opportunity for injustice. That was the leading principle of the Congress of Vienna—the weak must receive their law from the strong. At subsequent times Belgium, Switzerland, and Luxemburg have been declared “perpetually neutral”, and in much less than a century the neutrality of two has been violated. No European guarantee has sufficed to maintain such arrangements disinterestedly and justly—no matter whether the guarantee comes from three or from all the great powers. The thirty-eight German governments of 1814 became practically one in 1871, strong enough to challenge the question of national development in every direction—save in America.

The Vienna Congress was the first of a succession of like conferences but the idea is ever the same. The one break in the series was in the autumn of 1815, when the three continental powers—Russia, Austria, and Prussia—formed the Holy Alliance, so named because the founders proclaimed that “alike in the government of their own monarchies and in their political relations with other States, their conduct would be absolutely regulated by the principles of the Christian religion”.³⁰ It embodied an act of sincerity on the part of the Emperor of Russia, but raised a smile in others, who had their joke about the “diplomatic apocalypse”, the mysticism of Alexander. The propensities of worldly power defeated the good intention of the founder of the Alliance. The practice was contrary to the declaration of principle, and influenced America eight years later

³⁰ *Cambridge Modern History*, IX, 665. The text of the treaty is in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XIII, 621.

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when these practices induced the framing of the Monroe Doctrine.

The policy of Europe since 1815 has rested upon a theory of the utility of small states—situated between the great powers, or created temporarily to defeat the ambitious schemes of any one or more. And this is the policy Great Britain sought at Ghent to introduce into America. A large territory, covering what is now composed of the states of Michigan, Illinois, and a part of Ohio, was to be set apart as a permanent barrier between the western settlements of the United States and the possessions of Great Britain. This reservation was not finally to be acquired either by the United States or by Great Britain, but only by a third party.³¹ No one could name the third party—the possible owner of this domain; but that is not necessary to the story. To protect its Canadian possession from a possible attack from the United States, the statesmen of England trained in European schools alone, could see no better means than to erect a buffer state between the two, a territory then inhabited by a people who had no rights in international law, and whose future, except towards disappearance, could not have been so much as outlined. Only one phase of the quality of such a reservation could be seen with certainty—that it would have been a constant source of trouble, expense, and war. A like situation on the South had demonstrated and was to demonstrate that; but Louisiana had been purchased and Jackson was yet to march his force into Florida as into a country with which the United States was at war. For an American general to march into this reservation proposed at Ghent would be followed by very different results. Spain was not Great Britain, and the British were then at the height of their triumph—the recognized masters of the sea.

To the introduction of this source of trouble the American negotiators at Ghent gave a flat refusal. That principle of Euro-

³¹ Only seven years later Chief Justice Marshall authoritatively stated that the Indians "and their country are considered by foreign nations, as well as by ourselves, as being so completely under the sovereignty and dominion of the United States that any attempt to acquire their lands or to form a political connection with them would be considered by all as an invasion of our territory and an act of hostility." *Cherokee Nation vs. State of Georgia*, 5 Peters, 1.

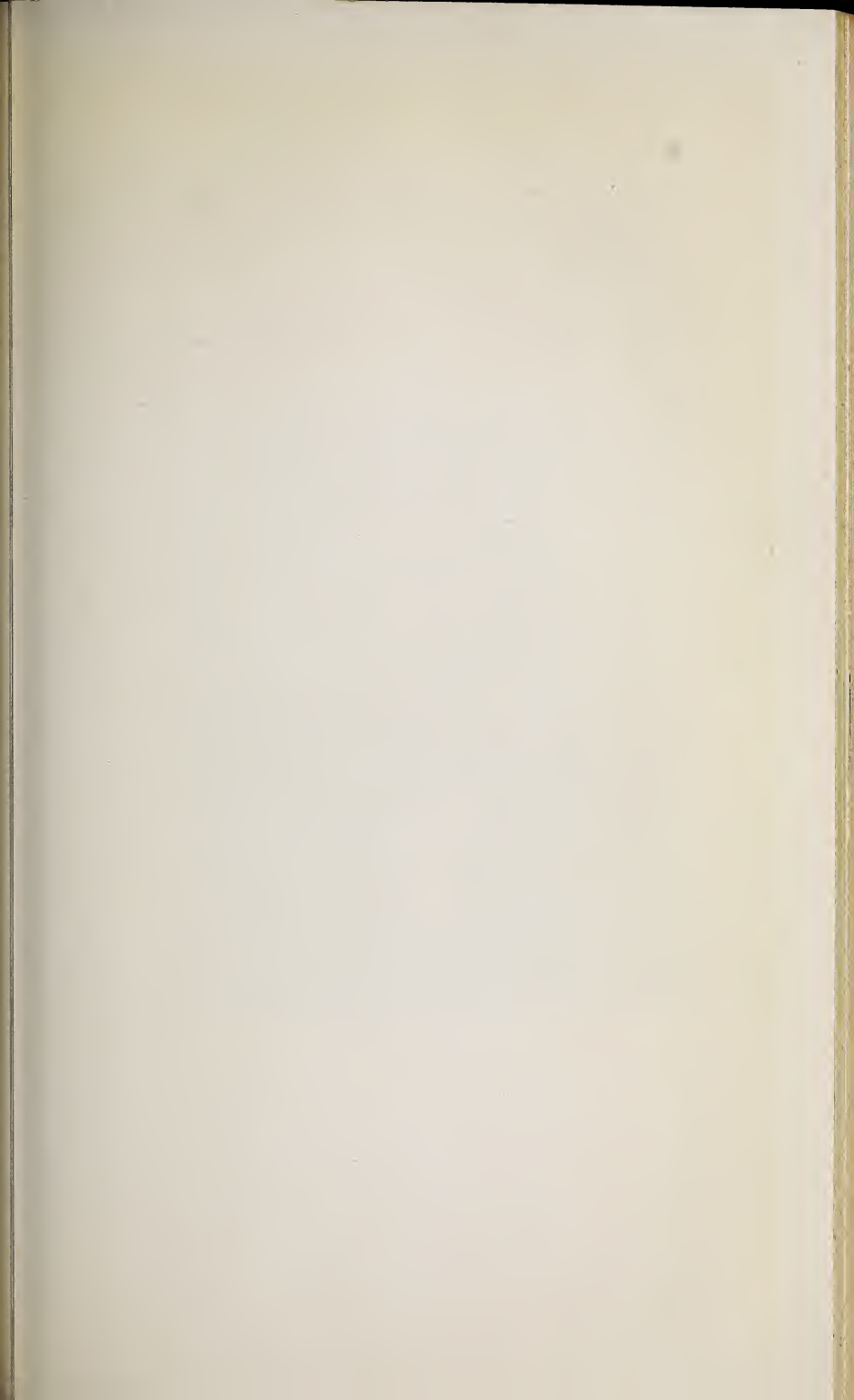
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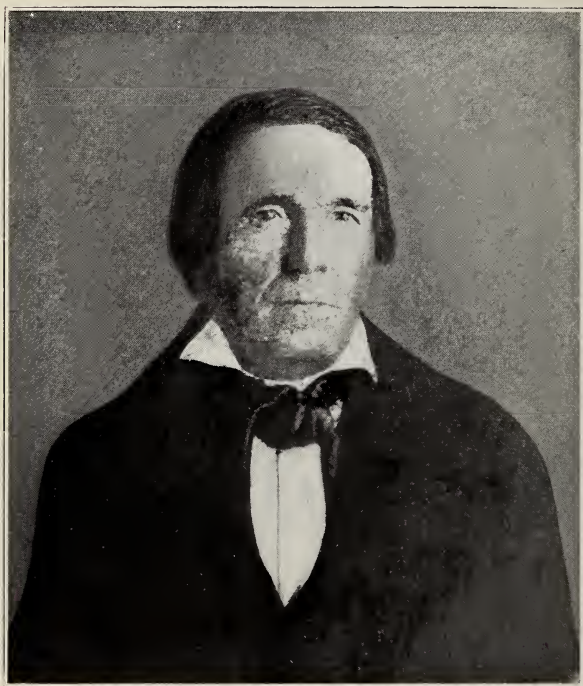
pean policy should have no place in North America. It would have forced the United States to become a military nation, and again and again to have invaded Canada in the hope of eliminating such a fruitful source of discord. The British partiality for small or buffer states in America continued in favor. She waged the War of 1812 in the hope of dividing the Union, and she counted upon controlling one of the two or more sections into which it seemed likely to fall. Her statesmen were opposed to our annexation of Texas, urging Mexico to recognize the independence of that province, and willing to defend that independence against aggression from the North. Texas would serve as a buffer state, a protest against slavery, a source of cotton and commercial rivalry, a thorn in the side of both Mexico and the United States. In the War of Secession the governments of England and of France saw no possibility of a restored Union, and awaited with a resignation that was tempered by expectancy for the division which would destroy forever the one great power of the West. Fortunately the policy of the Congress of Vienna, the policy of European diplomacy, never rested on the American continent—the deliberate creation of artificial and temporary states weak and at difference, certain to be fought for at some opportunity.

Against it we set the American doctrine of conterminous states and provinces, cultivating good relations and recognizing mutual benefits. True, it is easier to deal with virgin territory; though the Indian frontier, steadily moving westward, proved a difficult problem of administration, and seemed to favor reservations on the European plan; but at no time has it been necessary to set apart a strip of so-called neutral territory along our boundary, and the nearest approach to such a strip, the free customs zone between the United States and Mexico, a commercial privilege, proved a source of constant friction. There have been border wars among the states; Rhode Island remained out of the Union till the realization of the disadvantage compelled her to enter; there have been dreams of annexing Canada, of impounding to the Isthmus, as well as extensions of the Monroe doctrine to questionable uses. Manifest destiny is a phrase to conjure with; but behind all this froth lies the firmly rooted principle of union within and friendly relations without which has safeguarded the country from disunion in any form, and

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from a jealousy of the development of other continental powers. Ghent strengthened the principle by rejecting Europe's pet plan of control, and by providing for mutual disarmament on the Lakes. In consequence there has been a century of peace with Europe, a century of growth and consolidation at the usual price, and an ever increasing general recognition of power, moral as well as physical; half-heartedly, somewhat ungraciously conceded, yet effective, and now of supreme import in the world's disorder.





JAMES ALLEN REED

James Allen Reed

James Allen Reed: First Permanent Settler in Trempealeau County and Founder of Trempealeau¹

By Dr. Eben D. Pierce

Among the restless Scotch-Irish pioneers that Kentucky, in the early day, sent into Wisconsin and the Northwest, there are few with a life so picturesque and full of interesting incidents as James Reed. Born in Kentucky in 1798, he early became part of the rough, hardy life of the frontier. As a child he heard with eager delight the stirring tales related by Indian

¹ The material for the following sketch was furnished largely by Antoine Grignon, who was a stepson of Reed, and had a longer acquaintance with him than any person now living. For Grignon's "Recollections", see Wisconsin Historical Society *Proceedings*, 1913, 110. Others who have furnished recollections of Reed are: John Perkins and Mrs. Mary House, children of Reed's friend, Charles H. Perkins Sr. and Mrs. Charles H. Perkins Jr., a daughter-in-law; Mrs. John Reed, daughter-in-law of the pioneer; and Mary Brandenburg, who wrote down at his own dictation the account of Reed's trip into Iowa on a French train. C. R. McGilvray, whom Reed taught to trap beaver, furnished many interesting incidents; also S. D. Noyes, William Huttenow, William Bennett, Mrs. Charles Cleveland. Mrs. Louise Wilson kindly lent me a daguerreotype of Reed, the only picture of the old pioneer known to be extant.

Among references in print that have been consulted are the volumes of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, and L. H. Bunnell, *Winona and its Environs on the Mississippi in Ancient and Modern Days* (Winona, Minn. 1897). Data concerning Reed's career as a soldier and a farmer for the Sioux at Winona have been furnished by the War Department, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs at Washington.

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fighters, trappers, and traders who enjoyed the hospitality of his father's fireside; tales of thrilling encounters and hair-breadth escapes from the wild beasts and still wilder red men of the forest. Like most boys of the frontier he was unlearned in the lore of books, though he could read and write, but in the school of nature he early became an adept. To him the great, deep forest stretching away to the unexplored westland, was an open book; and he could follow a trail, wield the hunting knife, or throw the tomahawk with more cunning than the native Indians, while as a rifle shot he acquired, even on the western frontier where every man is an expert, wide renown.

When a mere stripling Reed resolved on a military career, and the War of 1812 furnished his fighting blood and martial spirit an outlet, some claiming that youthful as he was he saw service in the latter part of that war. Some time after the close of the War of 1812 Reed enlisted in the regular army, and was sent to Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien. Here his skill with the rifle, his knowledge of woodcraft and Indian customs, and his utility as a scout, interpreter, and courier quickly attracted the attention of his superiors, and before his term of enlistment had expired he had risen to the rank of sergeant. Although Reed was an excellent soldier, his greatest service to the government was in the capacity of scout, and long after his term of enlistment was over he was employed by the commander at Fort Crawford to conduct bodies of soldiers through the wilderness on expeditions against the Indians.

During his army life Reed married a Potawatomi woman, by whom he had five children, Elizabeth, Joseph, Mary, Madeline, and James. Upon her death in 1830 he was married a second time to a Menominee mixed blood, widow of the trader, Russell Farnham. Two children, Margaret and John, resulted from this union. He later married the widow of Amable Grignon, whose son Antoine was the chief source of this biography.

While in the United States army service at Fort Crawford Reed learned the carpenter trade and helped in the construction of some of the frame buildings of Prairie du Chien. He found plenty of work both in the army and outside, but he had planned to become a fur trader. Accordingly, after getting his discharge, he entered the employ of the American Fur Company, devoting

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his time to hunting, trapping, and trading with the Indians. He was stationed for over a year at Red Cedar, Iowa, where he opened a trading post among the Indians, sending his accumulated furs overland by cart to Prairie du Chien. During the absence of his cart-train he had but a single companion, a Sioux boy about sixteen years old. One morning while this boy was alone a band of fifteen Sauk warriors passing by murdered him, and were in the act of scalping him when Reed appeared on the scene. Angered at the brutal murder of his helpless Indian boy he turned his rifle on the fleeing band of Sauks, and fired, killing one of the warriors. He then called out to the Indians, daring them to return and fight like braves, in loud and angry tones naming them cowards and murderers. They continued their flight, however over a distant ridge, being fully convinced that the trapper not only was in earnest but was an excellent shot as well. Reed, expecting the Sauks to return that night and give him trouble, prepared everything for a surprise, sleeping with his loaded rifle on his arm ready for instant use. For weeks afterwards he was entirely alone at the trading post. Years later he told Grignon it was the most lonely and hazardous position of all his life, living in constant expectation of hostile Indians, and traveling on perilous expeditions through the surrounding territory in quest of furs. He had no further trouble with the Indians while at Red Cedar, but after remaining a year he decided to return to Prairie du Chien where he again entered the government service. During the Black Hawk War he was engaged to help take a keel boat up the Mississippi to Bad Axe. Returning to Prairie du Chien he was sent as a courier with important messages to the army, which was nearing Bad Axe. He traveled the distance on a pony and arrived in time to witness the battle that ensued.²

Although in the government service, Reed always denounced the cruel, unrelenting slaughter of the half-starved, dispirited Indians, who had tried in vain to surrender to the army opposing them, and were peaceably withdrawing with their wives and children to the west side of the Mississippi. During the battle Reed saw two Indian maidens embrace each other and

² See account in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XII, 257-261.

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jump into the river, and as they rose to the surface of the water the soldiers fired on them and the crimson streaks of blood mingling with the tawny waters showed where their lifeless bodies sank from sight. It was a pitiful sight to watch the slaughter of the helpless women and children of the unfortunate Sauks, and what added to the horror was the appearance of the Sioux, who had been notified of the coming conflict, on the opposite side of the river, finishing the slaughter by shooting, tomahawking, and scalping the poor, bedraggled Indians as they landed on the Minnesota shore.

When the struggle was over Reed started on his pony for Prairie du Chien, and while riding through the woods he came upon a lone Sauk woman who had made her escape from the soldiers and ill-fated Indians and was hiding in the woods in a half-starved condition. Reed spoke kindly to her, assuring her of his protection, and dismounting gave her a portion of food from his saddlebags. After she had eaten he helped her into the saddle, and with his rifle in hand led the way along the homeward trail. They took turn about riding and walking until they reached Prairie du Chien, stopping only at night to camp, and at intervals for refreshments. When their destination was reached Reed turned his captive over to the military authorities, who in turn sent her to join her people in Iowa.

After the Black Hawk War Reed was sent among the Iowa Indians on business for the government. He started on his French train, which consisted of a sled made of oak hewn from the tree, and fastened together with wooden pegs. The sled, about three feet wide and seven feet long, was just wide enough to seat a man comfortably. It had hewn slabs fastened from runner to runner, on which was placed a pair of blankets rolled up in a tanned buckskin. Two poles were attached to the front top of the runners and to these the Indian pony was hitched by means of a harness made of buckskin straps, sewed with deer sinews; the whippetree was fastened with the same material. "I started on my train," said Reed, "taking my old flintlock rifle and ammunition to last the trip, for I was expected to kill game enough for my living. On my way I chanced to kill a big, fat bear, and when I reached the Indian camp and exhibited my game a howl of joy went up among the

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redskins. We dressed and cooked the bear Indian fashion, making soup of him, which I ate with the natives in their manner, and in order to show my appreciation I ate the last drop of soup and then licked the dish as the Indians did. That lick gained for me and the government our point without a thought of bloodshed, and after shaking hands with my Indian friends I took my departure on my French train for Prairie du Chien."

The next three years after his return from Iowa Reed occupied himself as tavern keeper in Prairie du Chien. His reputation as a fearless hunter and Indian trader, and the many hardy adventures he had experienced, equipped him with a fund of frontier stories as thrilling as the varied life of that day afforded. He could speak several Indian dialects, and his long association with the French at the Prairie settlement enabled him to acquire a fair command of their language. To the French he was known as Reed *l'Américain*; while by many, on account of his military record, he was called Captain Reed.

Around the fireplace in his tavern was often gathered an interesting throng of hunters, trappers, traders, and Indians, and the usual town loafers. Many strange tales of frontier life and backwoods lore were told, and wanderers from far up the Mississippi brought glowing accounts of the northern country where game and fur bearing animals abounded, and where Indians roamed wild and undisturbed by white settlers. The longing for the wild, free life of the trapper caused Reed to abandon tavern keeping and resume his employ with the American Fur Company. While on his journeys up and down the Mississippi in the interests of the fur company, as well as when in the government service, he had remarked the beauty of the situation of Trempealeau and had decided to locate there whenever a favorable opportunity should offer. Circumstances delayed him until 1840, and gave his son-in-law, James Douville, the credit of being the first settler. However, Reed had chosen the site for a town and had in view plans for its future settlement some time before Douville came. In the summer of 1840 he built a log house on his well-selected site a few rods from the bank of the Mississippi and hither he brought his family, resolved to make this his permanent home. One

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day while hewing logs with his broadax for the construction of his building a drunken Sioux by the name of Face-on-Fire came along and began to abuse him. Reed said very little but at last, the taunting continuing, his temper gave way, and raising his broadax he threw it at the Indian. It came so dangerously near the Sioux that he was frightened and left, not daring to show himself again for days.

Reed, after finishing his log house, followed his favorite vocation of hunting and trapping in the Trempealeau Valley. A few months after his arrival his wife died, and within two years he married the widow Grignon, who was a relative of the Sioux chief Wabashaw. Her relationship with the noted chief gave Reed great prestige among this band of Sioux, which together with his experience with the Indians while in the government service secured for him the position of government farmer for Wabashaw's band of Indians who were then living on the site of Winona, Minnesota. He entered on his new occupation as government farmer and storekeeper sometime in October, 1842, and two years later with the help of L. H. Bunnell, erected the first house built in Winona. This was a government storehouse, constructed of white ash logs.

In May, 1844, an incident occurred at Winona which illustrates the fearlessness of Reed in a crisis. He had learned from the trader La Bathe,³ an eye witness, of the murder of an old friend, Sheriff Lester, by a Sioux of Little Crow's band named O-mah-haugh-tay. Chancing to be in the tent of his relative, Wabashaw, when the murderer dropped in for a visit, he was angered at the consideration with which the fellow was received, and declined the courtesy of smoking the pipe which was offered him. The murderer, emboldened by the success of his crime, seized the pipe and himself presented it to Reed, with unfeigned malignity in his eye. Reed, whose resentment was kindled into flame by this fresh act of audacity, dashed the pipe to the ground, and denouncing the Sioux as a dog, informed him there was one white man who did not fear him. It was the gravest insult that could be offered to an Indian, but

³ For a brief account of this trader see *Wis. His. Soc. Proceedings*, 1906, 253.

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O-mah-haugh-tay was cowed, and soon after took his departure from the village.

While engaged as government farmer at Wabashaw's village, Reed kept in touch with his Trempealeau settlement, which was known as Reed's Town or Reed's Landing, and which consisted of some eight or ten French families and a few French and Indian mixed bloods. The Trempealeau bluffs and adjoining prairie afforded an excellent stock range for Reed's horses, hogs, and cattle which he had brought from Prairie du Chien, and the swine proved to be good rattlesnake hunters, killing and eating many of the Winnebago's sacred serpents.

Reed remained in the employ of the government as farmer for the Indians until 1848, when negotiations were entered into for the removal of Wabashaw's band of Sioux from their old-time village at Winona. After their removal Reed returned to Trempealeau and was occupied in tending his stock and in hunting and trapping. He kept tavern for a while, and many a weary traveler and homeseeker found a hospitable welcome at his fireside. His tavern was a large log structure located near the bank of the Mississippi known simply as Reed's Place; after he sold out it became the Washington Hotel.

At the first town election held April, 1851, at La Crosse, James Reed was elected justice. Trempealeau was then included in La Crosse County. Whether there were any cases for the justice court during Reed's term of office is doubtful. Differences were likely to be settled in the more primitive way of hand to hand encounters, and if this failed an appeal to the higher court of firearms was taken.

While in Trempealeau Captain Reed had occasional differences with the Indians. He burned the old mission house⁴ at Trempealeau Bay to keep the Winnebago from catching and riding his horses which gathered in its shelter, thus galling their backs with heavy loads.

One autumn day in the early fifties a number of Indians came to Trempealeau to do some trading, and brought along the usual number of dogs. Reed had some hogs running loose near his house; the dogs began to chase them and succeeded in killing one of their number and injuring several others. When

⁴ *Ibid.*, 251, 252.

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Reed saw the Indians coming he took down his rifle and, walking into the yard, shot seven of the dogs; this done he returned to the house, reloaded his gun, and waited results. Nothing more was heard of the Indians that day, but the next morning about fifteen of their number returned and began grumbling about their dogs being killed and demanded pay for them. Reed listened a while to their complaints, then becoming angry he took down his rifle and pointed into the muzzle saying, "I have something in here which I will give you as pay if you don't all clear out of here at once." Without waiting for the contents of the well-known rifle the redskins fled, knowing the old trapper was in earnest. As a result of this trouble one of the Winnebago, named Hakah, plotted to kill Reed and went so far as to hide in ambush behind a pine tree along the trail where Reed came after his horses every evening towards sundown. When Reed appeared the Indian noticed the well-known rifle slung across his shoulder, which so unnerved Hakah, that he kept in his hiding place until his enemy had passed, not wishing to take a chance of missing Reed and being killed for his pains.

In 1853 Reed sold his Trempealeau property to Benjamin Healy and moved with his family onto a piece of government land in the Little Tamarack. This was in some respects a better situation for one of his temperament, as it was in closer proximity to the most desirable hunting ground. From here he took the trail over the bluff on many a long hunting expedition.

When George Luce, formerly of Galesville, was a boy he went on a hunting trip up the Trempealeau Valley with Captain Reed. They camped in one of the valleys near the present town of Arcadia, and as several hunting parties of Indians were in the immediate vicinity Reed deemed it advisable to take precautions against surprise, inasmuch as the Indians looked upon the white hunter with jealous eyes. Therefore the men set to work digging a hole in the ground for their night's camp fire. After completing this they cooked their supper, and enjoyed it smoking hot from the fire.

After nightfall the sound of howling wolves disturbed the hunters and as the night wore on the howling became louder

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and more hideous; apparently the campers were surrounded by wolves, but Reed began to mistrust the origin of the sounds and called out loudly in the Winnebago language, "If you want our scalps come and get them." At this the howling stopped. Reed and Luce sat up all night with their rifles across their knees, expecting the Winnebago wolves to return, but no more disturbance occurred, and after finishing their hunt the men returned home in safety. Luce told of Reed's skill as a hunter and said the old trapper always rode with his rifle across the pommel of his saddle Indian fashion.

At the time of the New Ulm massacre in Minnesota during the early part of the Civil War, the people of Trempealeau and vicinity were one day thrown into a panic of fear by the announcement that a large party of hostile Sioux was advancing from Black River upon Trempealeau. With one impulse the settlers turned to Reed for protection and the wary old trapper responded with energy. He knew the cunning savage and did not propose to be taken by a night surprise. All night long he patrolled Trempealeau Prairie, mounted on his favorite pony and carrying his trusty rifle ready for instant use, but it turned out that the report was false and no Indians came to disturb the frightened settlers.

Reed's numerous journeys throughout the Trempealeau country in quest of furs made him familiar with all of its streams, its ranges of hills, its numerous valleys as well as its woodland haunts and expanses of rolling wild grassland and marshes. Indeed he learned the country as thoroughly as a Mississippi River pilot learns the river, and was able to make serviceable use of his knowledge of the trails, the short cuts, the passes, and the divides.

"We were following along a range of hills one day mounted on our ponies," said Antoine Grignon, "Reed, his son John, and and myself. It was past noon and we were getting mighty hungry. As we came over a hog's back and neared a rocky peak, Reed pointed down a valley and said, 'boys, this is the nearest way to Beaver Creek where we can go and catch some trout for dinner.' We gladly turned our ponies toward the valley, and in a short time came to the creek. Reed cut a small pole and took from his pocket a fishline and hook and after

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catching some grasshoppers for bait started to fish. Inside of half an hour we had all the trout we needed for dinner, and cutting some forked sticks to hold them, we built a fire and broiled them. It was a splendid meal, and I believe that is the best way to cook fish—all you want is a little salt."

As a trapper Reed could not be excelled. He caught all varieties of the fur bearing animals which at that time abounded in this region such as the muskrat, mink, marten, otter, raccoon, and beaver, but made a special effort to get beaver.

Late one afternoon in 1863 Reed came to my father's house on foot and said his pony was mired in a marsh just over the hill from our place. My father secured the help of two neighbors and in company with Reed went over the hill to help extricate it. The men worked hard for nearly an hour, and succeeded in getting the pony out without injuring it. On the pony's back was a large pack of beaver pelts and traps. When the men reached our home it was dark and Reed remained all night. My father offered him a bed but he preferred to sleep on the floor, with his pack of furs for a pillow and a blanket spread over him. Early in the morning he departed for his home in the Little Tamarack.

Throughout the upper Trempealeau Valley at this time Reed was known as Trapper Reed, and often the remote settler would see his solitary figure, mounted on his pony, winding along the hills or threading his way through some woody solitude over the unblazed trail to the haunts of the beaver.

While living in the Little Tamarack Reed had two hunting dogs of which he was very fond. One day while hunting with them near the present town of Dodge they came upon a panther and chased it into the bluffs, where it turned and offered fight. The dogs flew at it and although they fought furiously the panther seemed to be getting the best of them, and had one of the dogs nearly disabled when Reed came up. He did not dare use his rifle for fear of wounding his dogs and yet he was bound to help them; so, drawing his tomahawk he entered the fray, working his way into the fighting mass as best he could and at length by a well directed blow succeeded in killing the panther. The wounded dog recovered and lived to join in many a subsequent hunt.

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James Reed was a man of medium height, with broad shoulders and a large chest; his complexion was florid, and his hair light brown, almost a sandy hue, while his eyes were a grayish blue. He was a quick, active man, alert and ready for any emergency. He often dressed like the Indians with a blanket thrown over his shoulders and fastened around his waist with a belt. In disposition he was kind and genial and he was an accommodating and friendly neighbor.

After the death of his wife Reed lived alone in his log cabin in the Little Tamarack. He still made journeys on his pony up the Trempealeau Valley on hunting and trapping expeditions, and continued his backwoods life until a year before his death, when the increasing infirmities of age caused him to abandon his favorite vocation. He then lived with his son John for a time, and during his last illness stayed at the home of his old friend and neighbor, Charles H. Perkins, where he died in June, 1873.

He had been such a man as the frontier demanded; he understood the Indians, and dealt with them kindly or severely as occasion demanded; while his firmness and fairness won for him the respect of all his associates.

Perhaps a future generation will build a monument to this romantic character. If so I hope it will be erected on old Liberty Peak, and will represent Reed mounted on his pony, with his rifle across the pommel of his saddle, looking out upon the peaceful bosom of the Mississippi, where the scenes of his eventful life were enacted. Such a monument, expressive of the pioneer hunter and instinct with the spirit of a departed age, would fittingly grace the noble crest of Trempealeau's venerable bluff.

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The Taverns and Stages of Early Wisconsin

By J. H. A. Lacher

Diligent research has brought to light the activities of the missionaries, voyageurs, and fur traders who frequented this territory during the French occupation and subsequently; the lead miner and the chief events and actors in the formative period of our State have been portrayed; our part in the Civil War has been well covered; while numerous reminiscences have given realistic glimpses of everyday life in the long ago; nevertheless, there are important features of the early history of Wisconsin that have received but scant attention. Comparatively little has been written about the taverns and stage lines of early Wisconsin, yet a thorough understanding of that period is hardly possible without some knowledge of these establishments, for they affected the lives of the people deeply and from many angles.

As already intimated, the early taverns exercised a profound influence upon the lives of the settlers, and it is the purpose of this paper to tell their story and that of their landlords, together with a cursory account of the stage lines, in the hope that they may receive deserved recognition as important factors in the settlement and development of our State. For obvious reasons it is neither possible nor desirable to enumerate all the taverns that once studded the landscape of Wisconsin, or to mention the yet more numerous landlords who at different times presided over them; nor is it necessary to devote much space to the hosts and hostelries of the larger places, because these have generally received due notice in the various county histories. In order to give some idea of their frequency along main roads,

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the writer will give the name and location of approximately all the taverns on a few such thoroughfares. Moreover, since his inquiries have influenced a number of local historians to write about the old taverns of their respective neighborhoods, he finds it unnecessary to cover the same ground. The author has taken great pains to resurrect data on the subject by correspondence and interviews with hundreds of old settlers; by reading scores of local histories, pamphlets, and manuscripts; and by consulting official records and searching carefully through many files of old newspapers at the State Historical Library, he has sought to verify and correct the information thus obtained. Yet he does not flatter himself that his paper will be free from error. Some abler pen should have written exhaustively on this theme years ago, when accurate data would have been more readily accessible; but even then it might have been subject to mistakes.¹

Accustomed to modern life, with its rapid transit, telegraph, telephone, electric light, automobiles, phonographs, moving and talking pictures, metropolitan press, rural free delivery, parcel post, machine-made products, and centralization, we can hardly realize the conditions that prevailed in Wisconsin before the coming of the railroad. The absence of all these conveniences, together with the ever increasing influx of settlers and the constant recession of the frontier, meant a different adjustment of life. It meant numerous ambitious hamlets and villages, many now extinct, where craftsmen made and sold their wares; it meant long lines of teams taking the products of farm, forest, and mine to the lake ports, or merchandise into the interior; it meant droves of live stock moving at a slower pace and the eventful arrival of the stage at a lively canter; it meant tardy news, local amusements, greater self-dependence, and a simpler life; it meant the prominence of the tavern and the wide influence of the landlord. Whether village tavern, or wayside inn, it was the social center of the neighborhood.

¹ Alexander Pratt, a Waukesha editor, writing four years after the event, declares that the State's first railroad was formally opened to traffic in that village in March, 1852. See *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, I, 139. The correct date, however, was February 25, 1851. A four column account of the celebration attending the opening is contained in the *Waukesha Democrat* of Mar. 4, 1851.

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The tavern of early Wisconsin discharged many functions. It furnished not only food, drink, and shelter, but was also the place for all indoor amusements, such as dances, concerts, lectures, puppet shows and wax figure exhibitions, for which purposes a suitable hall was usually provided. This hall was also the meeting place of secret societies, like the Masons, Odd Fellows, and the Oriental Evanic Order of 1001, the last named a burlesque secret organization then quite popular. Here, too, were held caucuses, town meetings, conventions, and elections. The dearth of churches and public buildings in the communities enhanced still more the importance of the tavern, for in their absence the hall was used for religious services or sessions of the court. The tavern was the place for assemblages of all kinds, even county fairs; while at Fourth of July celebrations, then the event of the year, the landlord was generally the caterer. A perusal of Wisconsin papers published before the days of the railroad will disclose an almost entire absence of what is now known as county news. Since curiosity about the affairs of others is an inherent human trait, our early precursors in the State must have enjoyed a quicker medium for disseminating the news of the neighborhood than the weekly paper. There was indeed such a medium, namely, the taverns that abounded in the villages or were located at frequent intervals along the well traveled highways.²

In the beginning the tavern was usually a story and a half log house, with a barn of like material, but with the advent of the sawmill larger and higher structures of frame were erected. A typical frame tavern of this period was the Exchange of Mukwonago, built by Henry Camp in 1842, and described in a paper read before the Territorial Badgers of that town by his son, Dan L. Camp.³ The original log tavern, where he was

² American landlords had early gained a reputation as news gatherers. Doctor Schoepf, the scholarly German traveler, who toured the United States in 1783-84, observes: "There are no people in the world of more curiosity than the innkeepers throughout the greater part of America." J. D. Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation* (Philadelphia, 1911), 22.

³ The paper, now in the writer's possession, was published in the *Waukesha Freeman* of unknown date.

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born in 1840, was connected with the new building and used as a barroom. Describing this room, he says:

Tallow 'dips' in tin reflectors hung on the wall near the bar, but usually no other light but that from the fireplace was needed. On one side of the fireplace was piled half a cord of dry maple, and on the other was the sink where the guest of high or low degree performed his ablutions with plenty of hard water and a cake of yellow laundry soap. * * * If we ran out of bar soap there was plenty of soft. Over the wooden sink there was a seven by ten inch mirror, flanked by a comb and a brush suspended by chains.

The new tavern was heated by four fireplaces, two on each floor, placed at each end of the building. There was a small cook stove in the kitchen. How my good mother ever accomplished the cooking for all the hearty eaters that came to our tavern, besides getting supper for forty or more couples that attended the dancing parties, is a mystery to me.

The upper floor was made into one large room except for a long tier of bedrooms, six by seven, on one side of the building, which were reserved for guests of high degree and maiden ladies. The large hall, which my father called the 'steerage,' was lined on one side and down the center with beds, like a hospital ward. When a ball was slated, all these beds had to be removed and placed temporarily on the large veranda at the front of the building. The festivities concluded, my father, who had been a seafaring man, sent everybody aloft to put the beds back in shipshape order, whereupon they 'spliced the main brace' in the aforesaid barroom.

The 'steerage', when thus transformed into a ballroom, and trimmed with cedar boughs, with six candles on each side backed by bright tin reflectors tacked against the wall, together with the light from the fireplaces, presented a most cheerful appearance, and became a favorite resort for dancing parties.

Until 1845 there were few taverns constructed of brick, stone, or grout. In the later forties and early fifties, during their golden period, many large, substantial taverns were built in Wisconsin, with commodious, attractive dance halls. These halls, then called ballrooms, while generally on the top floor of the main building, were sometimes located in a wing. During this period the more pretentious ballrooms were provided with "spring" floors, which were laid independently of the walls and yielded under the feet of the dancers like thin ice. Persons unaccustomed to them, or somewhat inebriated, would be liable to fall, to the amusement of the terpsichorean adepts present. Dancing was the most popular pastime, yet, naturally, the

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dances were not the same as those now in vogue. Square dances, such as quadrilles, and contra-dances, like money musk and the Virginia reel, were the favorites; but, despite the opposition of the strait-laced, round dances were introduced from the East and by the Germans, who came in such numbers after 1848. The most popular among these were the polka, mazurka, schotische, and waltz. The waltz, especially, was denounced by pulpit and press as immoral.

During the fore part of the grand dances the fair participants wore dark prints, but at midnight they repaired to the dressing room, provided by better taverns, and donned their party clothes, light colored airy dresses of tarlatan or muslin, or darker ones of delaine or debeige. The élite wore pumps of bronze or black kid, the others dancing in their ordinary shoes or morocco, prunella, or wax calf. Some of the men had pumps, but more wore boots, and occasionally one danced in his stocking feet.

The music, furnished originally by a fiddler, who was sometimes assisted by a manipulator of a bass viol, improved as the larger towns came to boast of excellent cotillion bands; these were in good demand for the important functions of the popular taverns, while local talent was engaged for ordinary events. These "string" bands consisted generally of four instruments, but occasionally of a larger number.⁴ Among the famous cotillion bands of the time were those of Hess of Milwaukee and Severance of Whitewater. Sometimes the landlord himself was a musician or dancing master, or both, as in the case of Jerome B. Topliff of Elm Grove.

New Years, Washington's Birthday, the Fourth of July, and Thanksgiving were the occasions for grand balls, when enterprising landlords made extraordinary efforts to attract a large attendance. A shrewd selection of popular floor managers from the various tributary communities constituted an important part of these carefully planned preparations. These functions were sufficiently numerous to satisfy the most ardent dancer.

⁴In the *Watertown Chronicle* for December, 1844, John W. Windue advertises that his "Cotillon Band is composed of first rate musicians in good practice and that he can furnish on short notice any number and description of instruments."

INDEPENDENCE PARTY.

Your Company with Lady is respectfully solicited at a Party,
to be given on

MONDAY, JULY 2ND, 1855, AT THE
MUKWANAGO HOUSE, OF R. W. GIBSON.

MANAGERS.

JOHN SCHNEIDER.

JAS. ROBINSON.

MUSIC, SEVERENCE'S BAND,

TICKETS, \$2.50

Sugar Party,

AT THE

MUKWANAGO HOUSE,

R. W. GIBSON, Proprietor.

On Wednesday Even'g, April 23rd, 1856.

YOUR COMPANY WITH LADY IS SOLICITED.

FLOOR MANAGERS.

S. WALL ANDREWS, Mukwanago.

FRANCIS DRAPER, Eagle Prairie.

Music by Severance's Band.

TICKETS, \$2.50.

Independence Ball,

AT THE

Mukwanago House, R. W. Gibson, Proprietor,

ON FRIDAY, JULY 4th, 1856.

YOUR COMPANY IS VERY RESPECTFULLY SOLICITED.

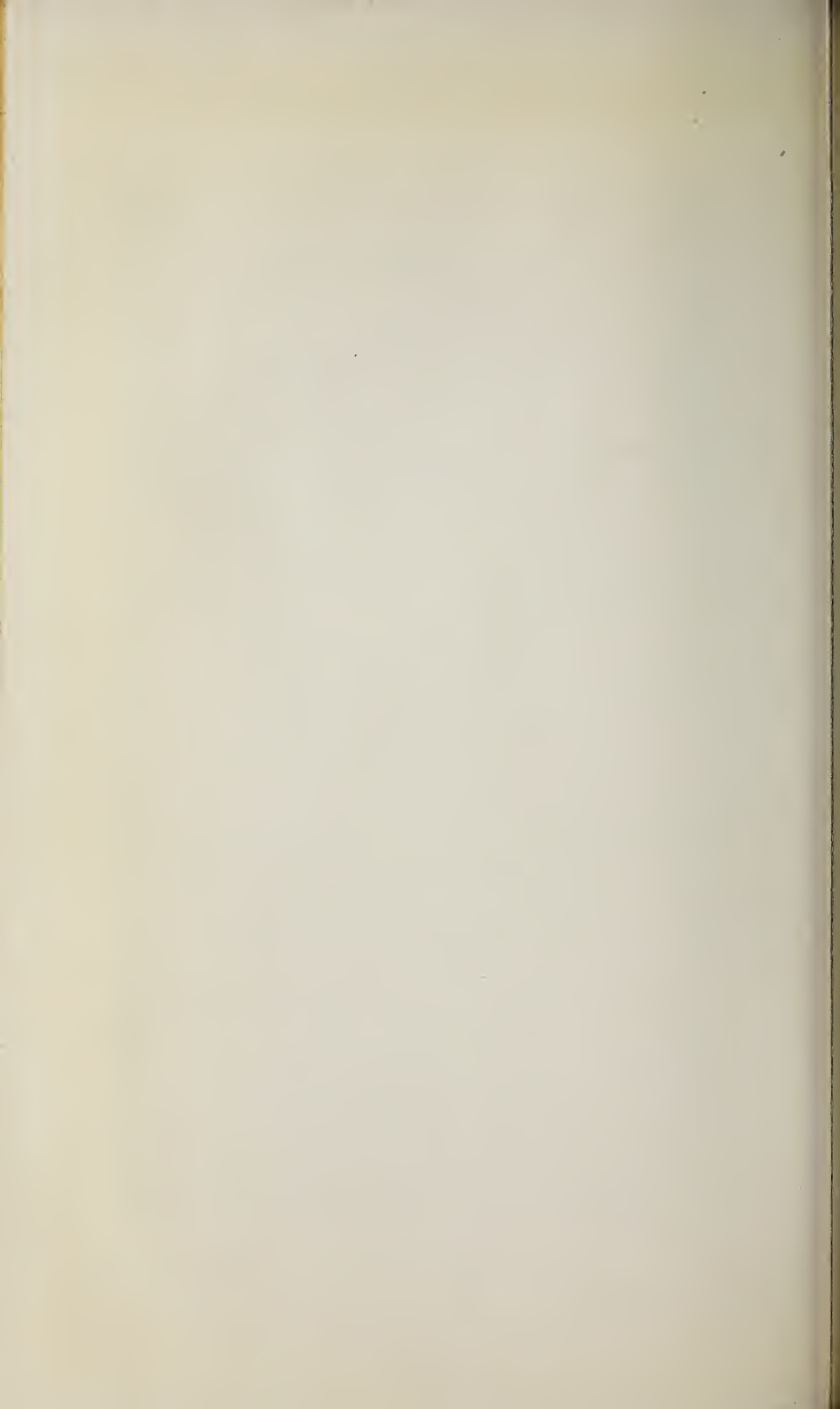
MANAGERS.

Abel Hall, East Troy. | Peter Gifford, North Prairie. | Henry Sharpe, Vernon.
M. Pitman, Eagle Cen't's. | Wallace Wells, Little Prairie. | Jas Gibson, Jr. Waterford.

FLOOR MANAGERS:

John Snyder, Mukwanago. | Henry Lampman, Eagle Prairie.

Music by WHITMORE'S BAND.



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Some of the parties announced in the long ago seem strange enough to us of the present day. During the presidential campaign of 1856 a Frémont ball was held at Alexander's tavern at Bad Axe, Wisconsin. After the sap had run in the sugar bush and had been converted into its several saccharine products, a sugar party was sure to be held in the nearby tavern. The main attraction at a sugar party, aside from dancing, was a supper at which maple syrup and hot biscuits were the *pièce de résistance*; when the weather was opportune, boiling maple syrup was poured upon the snow, forming wax, that most delicious of sweets.

The prevailing price of admission to these parties in 1855-56, supper included, was \$2.50 per couple. Owing to the Crimean War and better marketing facilities, due to the recently built plank roads and the rapid extension of railways, farm products brought at this time far higher prices than formerly; hence these seemingly expensive functions were in part evidences of prosperity.⁵ For the rest the price indicates the characteristic American tendency to extravagance, with the landlords alert to take advantage of it, even as at present. A few years before, the price of admission to these balls was a great deal less.⁶ The taverns were the scene of other entertainments than those already mentioned. Under their hospitable roof amateur comedians staged daily impromptu performances before appreciative, uncritical audiences.

⁵ The Milwaukee *Free Democrat*, Feb. 19, 1855, quotes these prices: Flour \$6 to \$7.75; winter wheat \$1.32 to \$1.40; spring wheat \$1.20 to \$1.28; barley 90 cents to \$1.00; corn 45 cents to 50 cents; oats 34 cents to 36 cents; mess pork \$11; and eggs 22 cents.

⁶ The Watertown *Chronicle* of Mar. 20 1850, has this advertisement:

"Ball at the Buena Vista House.

The public is respectfully invited to a ball at the Buena Vista House, Monday night, the 31st day of April next. Tickets 50 cents for gentlemen, ladies free.

Wm. Wiggenghorn."

It should be noted, however, that this was a German house. For many years the German immigrants to Wisconsin held aloof, socially, from the American element of the population. It is quite possible, therefore, that the price given in this case is lower than the usual price.

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Wisconsin was then a country of young men. The outdoor life, the conviviality and comradery of the road, filled them to overflowing with animal spirits, and this exuberance of energy usually manifested itself in pranks, horseplay, and practical jokes. A joke at the expense of the landlord was one most enjoyed, perhaps because it meant a treat for the crowd. J. B. Cable, an early tavern-keeper of Waukesha County, had such a dislike for the Irish that he would not entertain them. One evening a peddler, who occasionally stopped with him, entered disguised and announced in a well assumed brogue that he was going to stop over night, proceeding at once to put up his team. When, after considerable wrangling, the irate landlord discovered that he had been hoaxed, he was obliged to do the usual honors. At another time, when he had gone down cellar to refill his flagons, the hilarious crowd locked the trapdoor and departed with the key. However, these examples of playfulness are mild compared with some that could be given.

Games of chance and for amusement were played generally; yet cards were taboo even at some wet taverns. Ingenuity, however, overcame such a slight obstacle to mild gambling. There was, for instance, crack loo, which was played by tossing up coins, the one whose coin alighted nearest a designated crack being the winner. At the Otis House, Hartland, cards and dice were prohibited, but the patrons gambled nevertheless. Forming a circle in the barroom, each in his turn whirled an empty demijohn; the one at whom the neck pointed after it had come to rest being obliged to treat. Yet even here there was some regard for the proprieties, for whoever indulged beyond his capacity was made to dig a stump out of the nearby swamp before breakfast the next morning.

Apart from financial or culinary ability, the table of the taverns varied with the times and locality. In 1846, when the landlords of southern Wisconsin advertised the "delicacies of the season", the first tavern at Black River Falls served bread and fried salt pork for breakfast and supper, with boiled pork, bread, and bean soup for dinner as a change.⁷ Landlords, particularly during the heyday of the tavern, took great pride in

⁷ Mrs. Bella French, *History of Black River Falls* (La Crosse, 1875).

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their table, and on special occasions tried to surpass one another in providing gustatory pleasures for their guests. Thus Sam Barstow, a noted landlord of Waukesha in the early forties, favored his guests at a Fourth of July celebration by serving them in a large, temporary bower with such rare and delectable dishes of that period as spring lamb and green peas. Old newspapers reveal that the landlords delighted in lauding in print the quality of their table. In 1847 the American House of Watertown boasted of its "wild game"; the Exchange, of the same place, claimed among its "eatables and drinkables, everything which the western fields, forests, waters, and markets afford"; while the Three Mile House of Emmet, Dodge County, modestly declared its "creature comforts equal to any west of the lakes".⁸

Possibly the recollection of meals partaken at taverns in the springtime of life, when hard work and exuberant health gave them keen appetites may betray old settlers into exaggeration; but all accounts agree that there were then many good cooks among the women of Wisconsin. While the landlord may have been a good manager and provider, and though his geniality may have captivated all, the quality of his table depended upon his cook, who was generally his wife, with his daughters as assistants. Tradition has it that the reputation for good cheer enjoyed in many taverns was due to wives who were excellent ministers of the interior. They and their daughters were not ashamed to do housework. These verses⁹ advertising Samuel Mallory's tavern at Elkhorn in 1845 bear witness to this:

His table is furnished with the substantials of life,
Cooked and prepared by his daughters and wife,
Myself will attend you and give you the food
With desserts and pastry, which shall be all good.

Needless to say, many items of diet of the present generation were not included in the menus of old, for landlords had not then refrigerator car service to supply their table with unseasonable delicacies; neither were there any canned goods, and rarely ice cream. Game and fish were, however, plentiful, and these

⁸Advertisements in *Watertown Chronicle*, June 23, June 30, and Aug. 4, 1847.

⁹From a twenty eight line advertisement in the *Western Star*, Elkhorn, Aug. 28, 1845.

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often replenished the scanty larder of the frontier tavern.¹⁰ Turkey, both wild and tame, was the chief attraction at parties, but after the coming of the railway oyster suppers were the feature. Holiday suppers often had a roast pig set at each end of the long table. Then there were hot mashed potatoes, pies, cakes, doughnuts, cookies, pickles, preserves, coffee, tea, and cheese. The hot supper, served at six, was followed by the dance. At midnight plates were passed to the guests seated around the ballroom and a lap lunch of pie, cake, doughnuts, coffee, and sometimes tea, was served. When the program did not include an early hot supper, cold meat was usually served.

Bills of fare served daily at these taverns did not offer the variety set before the fastidious traveler of the present, but they had the home cooking flavor, now so often lacking, and the rates were much lower. Although the prevailing rate was one dollar per day, the charges were by no means uniform. Fierce competition often resulted in price-cutting, when a man was kept for supper, lodging, and breakfast, including feed and stabling for his team, for as low as four shillings, or fifty cents, this price sometimes including a drink. Those occupying the "school section", a large loft, or an outlying apartment, accommodating quite a number, usually had a lower rate. A house was not considered full until every bed held as many as could crowd into it "spoon fashion". When all beds were occupied to their capacity, some landlords gave teamsters who bunked on the floor an allowance of free whisky. Mrs. W. F. Whitney of Waukesha relates that on one occasion in the late forties fourteen ladies slept two in a bed in one large upper chamber of the Hawks House, Delafield, while the men of the party found accommodations of some sort on the ground floor.

Only occasionally do old advertisements of taverns mention their rates. The proprietor of the Union House of Richland City, J. W. Coffinberry, advertised in 1856: "Board by the day, \$1.00, single meals .37½ cents, lodging, .25, board by the week, \$3.00. Horse and hay overnight .25, horse, grain and hay overnight, .37½, including care, .50". His competitor, W. J. Frame,

¹⁰ Mrs. Cawley, who came to Clark County in 1851, and served as cook in a boarding house, says that she cooked twenty-one deer that winter. Interview published in the *Neillsville Republican Press*, Dec. 15, 1910.

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of the City Hotel, quoted lower prices, but was more exacting otherwise. He permits "No gambling or card playing in house or barn, no profane or vulgar language, and sky-larking". His rates were as follows:¹¹

Meals each .25, lodging one night.....	\$.10
Boarding by the week with lodging	2.50
" " " " without lodging	2.00
" " " day with lodging .....	.75
Horses to grain, hay and care .....	.37 1/2

This, be it remembered, was a period of high prices.

Taking care of the animals—horses, oxen, mules—was the duty of the hostler, so important a personage that one advertisement states that "Robert, the Old Hostler, is on hand and animals are safely entrusted to his care".¹² Of the functionary referred to Dan Camp writes: "The low rates included a tip to the hostler, consisting of a glass of 'red eye', which custom of the time kept that individual in a perpetually pickled condition, not drunk, but simply stalling around and trying to look sober." And yet some hostlers developed into excellent landlords.

According to all accounts much whisky was consumed during the period under consideration. It was generally believed at this time that whisky was a necessary and useful beverage, and that men doing hard work required alcoholic stimulants in order to be efficient. During harvest laborers expected and were supplied with rations of strong drink, and a farmer refusing such allowance was an exception. The numerous teamsters and travelers, who frequented the roads at all hours and in all kinds of weather, were generally afflicted with this prevailing thirst, thereby increasing the patronage of the taverns and providing a great source of revenue to the landlords. The tavern bars were patronized even by the lead teamsters and impecunious drivers who usually camped en route and provided their own food.

While there were a few temperance houses scattered over the

¹¹ Advertisement in *Richland County Observer*, June 3, 1856.

¹² Advertisement of Three Mile House of Emmet in *Watertown Chronicle*, Aug. 4, 1847.

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State, the bar was a prominent feature of nearly all taverns. Advertisements generally mention the choice quality of the beverages kept in stock. The following unique announcement¹³ of 1852 was surely a sign of the times:

Planters' House, Hales Corners, Greenfield, Milwaukee County, by William Hale. "A little of the critter to be had if desired."

Another landlord advertises that his low rates include free whisky.¹⁴ But whisky was cheap before the Civil War and distilleries were plentiful in southeastern Wisconsin. Mr. A. C. Vanderpool, a pioneer of Waukesha County, told the writer that once just before harvest he bought five gallons of whisky at a nearby distillery at 12½ cents a gallon, "and," he declared, "it was better than the stuff sold now, because it did not give anybody the headache." The retail price of a drink of whisky was usually three cents.

It goes without saying that the taverns were not promoters of temperance, although the watering of whisky was said to obtain. Yet, strange to relate, when the Order of Good Templars spread over the country in the fifties, a dance hall sometimes served as their lodge room. Overshadowed by the all-absorbing question of slavery, the temperance movement had little effect upon the drink evil compared with the railroads, which reduced the number of taverns by revolutionizing traffic, and the Civil War, which imposed a heavy, deterring tax upon intoxicants. While the use of whisky was general, especially in the lumber regions, it was hardly as pronounced as tradition alleges. Neither was Wisconsin exceptionally intemperate. Of the drinking habits of the second generation of the nineteenth century one able contemporary observer has written: "The vice of intemperance was not, as now, restricted to a few exceptional cases, but was fearfully prevalent. A glass of wine could some-

¹³ Advertisement in the *Western Star*, Elkhorn, June 10, 1852.

¹⁴ "Cottage Inn by Jesse M. Van Slycke, successor to W. Porter, Walker's Point, South Ward, Milwaukee, W. T. Teamsters and Farmers, especially, will find it a good home. His charges will be, Horses to hay overnight, .18, Supper and Lodging, .25, Breakfast .18 and some fixens for nothing at all—you know! His table, Lodgings, Stable and Bar, will not be surpassed on the Point, in the city." Advertisement in *Milwaukee Sentinel*, Oct. 8, 1845.

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times be seen on the desk of a senator while engaged in debate, and the free use of intoxicating drinks by senators was too common to provoke remark. It was still more common in the House; and the scenes of drunkenness and disorder in that body on the last night of the last session [March 3, 1851] begged description."¹⁵ Amusements are a necessary relaxation. Owing to the dearth of theaters and outdoor games during their day, perhaps our forefathers were much addicted to the flowing bowl.

Although the sale of strong drink was usually regarded by the landlord as essential to financial success, an abundant supply of pure water was perhaps the greatest asset of a tavern. While teamsters were not partial to water as a drink for themselves, they were particular to stop at taverns having a copious supply of this precious fluid to slake the thirst of their jaded animals. Landlords fortunate in the possession of inexhaustible wells or springs of good water, made mention of the fact in their advertisements. In some cases the very name of the house indicated the treasure. Cold Spring House was a favorite name for taverns situated near one of nature's fountains. When the supply of water near the house was inadequate to meet the demand, it was sometimes replenished from a distance. The well-known Prairieville House of Waukesha was supplied from a spring six blocks distant, the water being conveyed thence by gravity in basswood pipes. Capt. John Bell, who kept for years the popular tavern on the Mukwonago Road in Milwaukee County, called the passing throng's attention to the superior quality of his well water, and invited all to help themselves freely, by this remarkable sign:

Stop, gentlemen, as you pass by,
My water tank is free,
Its source is on the mountain high,
Its course is to the sea.

It was not unusual for landlords to be engaged in other activities, such as running a livery stable, a stage line, a ferry, a farm, or holding a public office; quite a number conducted gen-

¹⁵ G. W. Julian, *Political Recollections, 1840 to 1872* (Chicago, 1884), 105, 106.

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eral stores in connection with their taverns. As storekeepers they were generally benefactors of their respective neighborhoods, because in pioneer days and during the years of crop failure they furnished the necessities of life to many a poor settler, carrying his account on the books until the day that he should be able to pay. Unfortunately for the merchant-landlord pay day never came with some of these customers, and despite the profits made in the tavern, he was sometimes forced to the wall in consequence of delinquent debtors. Because they are supposed to do business at a profit, in periods of prosperity the public is prone to forget the valuable services rendered by the merchant in extending credit when money is scarce. Inquiries among descendants of early landlords have occasionally elicited the comment that their ancestor was not well-to-do, but that he never refused food and shelter to a person without money. The late Henry B. Bidwell, a pioneer who came to Waukesha in 1836, told the writer that had not Solomon Juneau furnished the early settlers thereabout with food on long credit, they would all have perished.

The foregoing brief description of the taverns of early Wisconsin will suffice to show what important institutions they were to the people of that period, and how variously and deeply they affected their lives. It also indicates that the landlords were generally men of consequence in their communities, and that their genial hospitality and wide acquaintance gave them a vantage for gaining public esteem and increasing their information, as well as making pecuniary profit. It is not surprising, therefore, that this occupation attracted men of character and ability, and that many of them attained prominence in their counties and the State, while a few acquired even a national reputation. Very many landlords held county offices, a large number served in the Legislature, two went to Congress and one, General J. M. Rusk, after being governor of the State for three terms, finished his distinguished public career as a member of the President's cabinet. It is to be noted that several clergymen were among the tavern-keepers of that period, but that their ventures were not signally successful. There were also some physicians and lawyers who engaged in this occupation.

Although a new country is generally very democratic, people

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of the period under consideration seemed to have set great store by political and military titles. A surprisingly large number of the early landlords bore military titles, that of captain predominating; but there were also majors, colonels, and several generals among them. Comparatively few of these ante-bellum military titles were won in battle; instead they were commonly earned by service in the militia, or as members of a governor's staff; and quite a number of captains graduated from the decks of sailing vessels. However, a number of landlords afterward served in the Civil War, and at least two became brigadiers by brevet.

These strong men did much to shape the destinies of their communities. Their energy and enterprise caused the erection not only of the numerous taverns, used for such multifarious purposes; but they also promoted the establishment of industries, schools, and churches; the building of roads, and the organization of new political divisions and the location of county seats. While the landlords were among the chief promoters of plank roads, some of them antagonized the building of railroads. Believing that its construction through their town would ruin their business, the landlords of East Troy opposed the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railway; but when, too late, they realized that its diversion to another route was far more injurious to them, they favored the projected Milwaukee & Beloit Railroad which, unfortunately, was never completed. Conversely, the persistence and resourcefulness of landlord Joseph Goodrich, of Milton, made possible the extension of the Milwaukee & Mississippi and changed its proposed course by way of Johnstown to his town. At a meeting of citizens and promoters, when the project seemed destined to failure for want of funds, Goodrich proposed that the farmers along the route raise the necessary money by mortgaging their farms and purchasing railroad stock with the funds thus obtained. Although Goodrich and hundreds of his fellow mortgagors lost heavily by the venture, because of the subsequent bankruptcy of this and all other early Wisconsin railways, the advent of the railway brought about higher prices for farm products and general prosperity.

The early landlords were principally Americans of New England ancestry and, like the pioneers of Wisconsin, a large pro-

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portion of them hailed from New York State, although Vermont and Connecticut were also well represented. There were originally few foreigners among them, but when the great tide of foreign immigration came surging into the State, German, English, Irish, and Scotch landlords made their appearance in ever increasing numbers.

Roads

In view of the fact that the taverns were commonly situated on the principal thoroughfares, a brief mention of these seems necessary. The indifferent military roads, built mainly in 1835, were of minor importance in the development of the State. After the lands of southeastern Wisconsin had become subject to entry in 1836, the ensuing immigration caused the establishment of roads into the interior. Begun with congressional aid in 1838-39, these roads trended west from Southport (Kenosha); west and northwest from Racine, and southwest and west from Milwaukee. They followed the lines of least resistance, avoiding woods, swamps, and rivers, wherever possible, and were extremely bad. Until after 1850 the favorite road from Milwaukee to Fond du Lac was by way of Watertown and Fox Lake, the longest way being the best and most expeditious.

The discomforts incident to travel by stage at this time were due chiefly to the poor condition and character of the roads. At certain seasons of the year they were frightfully bad, as the following item from the *Watertown Chronicle* of Nov. 1, 1848, shows: "The stage road for some weeks past should form a powerful appeal to farmers and traders in favor of the plank road from this place to Milwaukee. The going has never been worse. The road from one end of the line to the other is lined with fragments of wagons, barrels of flour, boxes of goods, etc. The price of freight has more than doubled."

In a few years these territorial roads were extended to the mining region of southwestern Wisconsin, with the result that in 1839 the lead teams began to make their tedious journey across the State to Milwaukee. The drivers did not generally obtain food or shelter at the taverns, but camped and sometimes foraged the cornfields, en route.

WISCONSIN STAGE LINES.



Leaves the General Stage Office, No. 13, Wisconsin street for Galena, via Prairieville, Delafield, Summit, Concord, Aztalan, Lake Mills, Cottage Grove, Madison, Dodgeville, Mineral Point, and Platteville to Galena.

With a branch running from Watertown, Beaver Dam, Fox Lake, Fond du Lac, to Green Bay.

Leaves the same office for Galena, via New Berlin, Mukwanago, East Troy, Troy, Johnstown, Janesville, Monroe, Wiota, Shullsburgh, and White Oak Springs to Galena.

With a branch running from Janesville, via Union to Madison, in due connection with the Galena line.

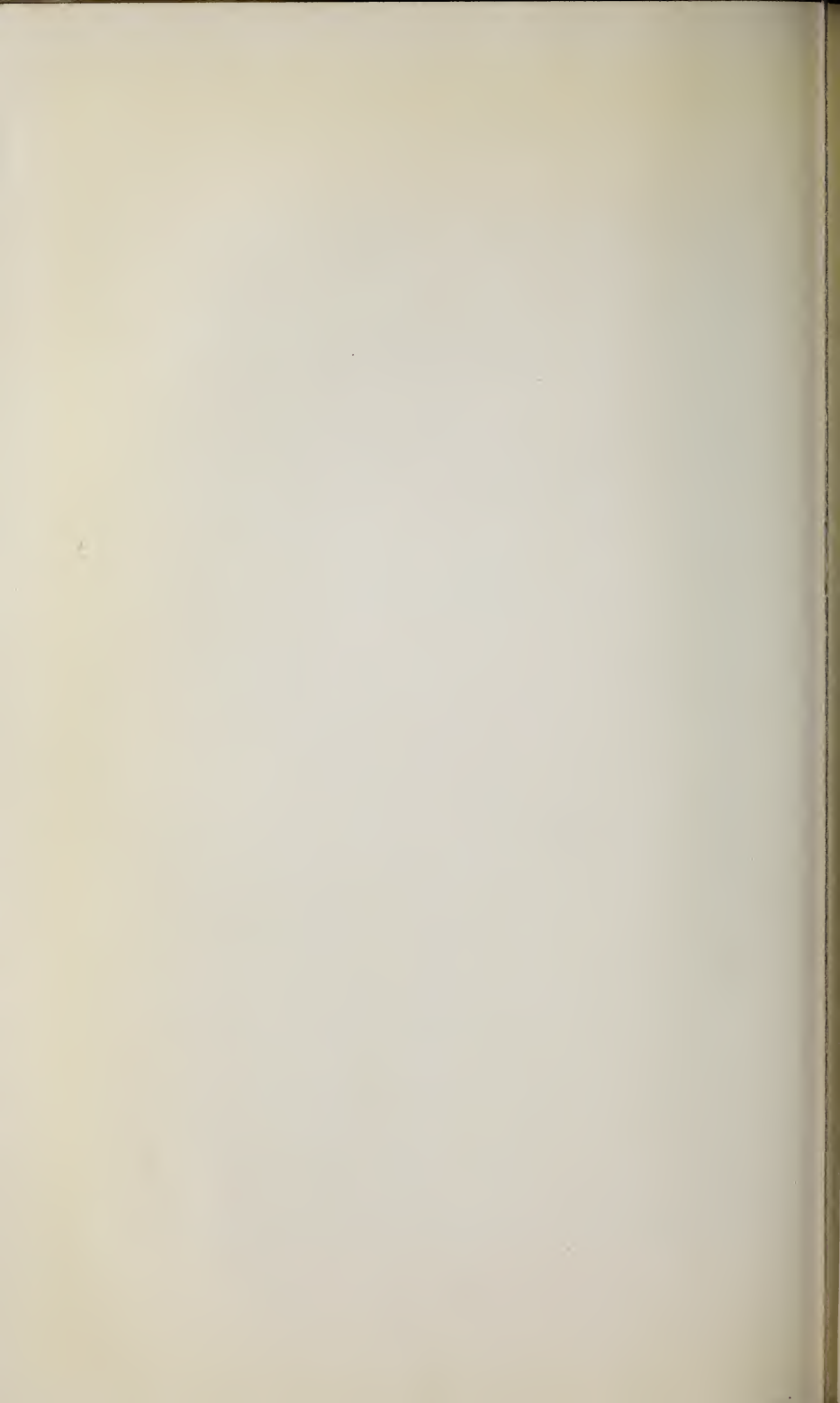
Also, a branch running from Janesville via Detroit, Roscoe, and Rockford to Dixon; connecting with the Chicago, and Galena Lines, at Rockford and Dixon.

Leaves Racine every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, for Janesville; Also, leaves Southport for Madison and Galena same days.

Leaves the same office for Chicago, via Oak Creek, Racine, Southport, Little Fort and Wheeling, to Chicago—connecting at Chicago, with the St. Louis and Michigan Stages. Leaves the same office for Sheboygan, via Mequon, Hamburg, Saukville, Port Washington, and Sheboygan Falls to Sheboygan.

JOHN FRINK & Co. Proprietors.

Milwaukee, 1848.



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Stage Lines

As early as 1836 John Frink and Martin O. Walker operated a stage line in the lead region. Theodore Rodolf, who made a trip by stage from Mineral Point to Chicago, by way of Galena, in the fall of 1841, says in his reminiscences: "The means of traveling had by this time so much improved, that instead of the jolting, hard-seated, two horse wagon, we had a regular Frink & Walker daily stage line, with comfortable coaches." In winter sleighs were substituted and plenty of buffalo robes provided. Rodolf made a trip to Milwaukee in January, 1842, going by way of Madison, Janesville, Troy, and Prairieville (Waukesha) and reaching his destination the fifth day.¹⁶

A study of the old stagecoach advertisements reveals the principal channels of travel, while the opening of new branch lines, the shifting of routes, and the improved, quicker service, indicate the rapid development of the State.

In 1845 Frink, Walker & Company advertised a daily line of four horse coaches from Milwaukee to Galena, through in three days. One of the routes, stages leaving Milwaukee, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, was by way of Troy, Janesville, Monroe, Wiota, Shullsburg, Gratiot's Grove, and White Oak Springs, lodging at Janesville and Shullsburg. The other leaving Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday was by way of Prairieville, Whitewater, Fort Atkinson, Madison, Blue Mounds, Dodgeville, Mineral Point, Platteville, and Hazel Green, lodging at Madison and Mineral Point. A branch ran from Whitewater to Milton, Janesville, Beloit, and Rockford. There was also a tri-weekly line to New Berlin, Vernon, Mukwonago, and Troy; and one to Oak Creek, Racine, Southport, Half Day, Wheeling, and Chicago. These stages connected at Madison with a line to Fort Winnebago, and at Platteville with one to Prairie du Chien. Davis & Moore were agents for this line at Milwaukee.¹⁷

¹⁶ Theodore Rodolf, "Pioneering in the Wisconsin Lead Region," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XV, 371-376.

¹⁷ Advertisement in *Janesville Gazette*, May 20, 1845, *Mineral Point Democrat*, September, 1845, and *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 1845.

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In 1845 Hutchins, Howe & Company entered the field in southwestern Wisconsin, and by 1847-48 they had become strong competitors of the old firm; they advertised two tri-weekly lines from Milwaukee to Galena; a daily line to Janesville, by way of Prairieville, Whitewater, and Milton; a daily line by way of Prairieville to Watertown; a tri-weekly line to Fond du Lac, by way of Watertown, Beaver Dam, and Fox Lake; a semi-weekly line from Fond du Lac to Green Bay; and one from Watertown south to Peru, Illinois, at the head of navigation on the Illinois River.¹⁸

Although Rodolf speaks of "comfortable coaches", the statement should be taken in a comparative sense. Read the following description, by Aaron Rankin, a pioneer of Fort Atkinson, of the stages of this period of mud and corduroy roads.¹⁹

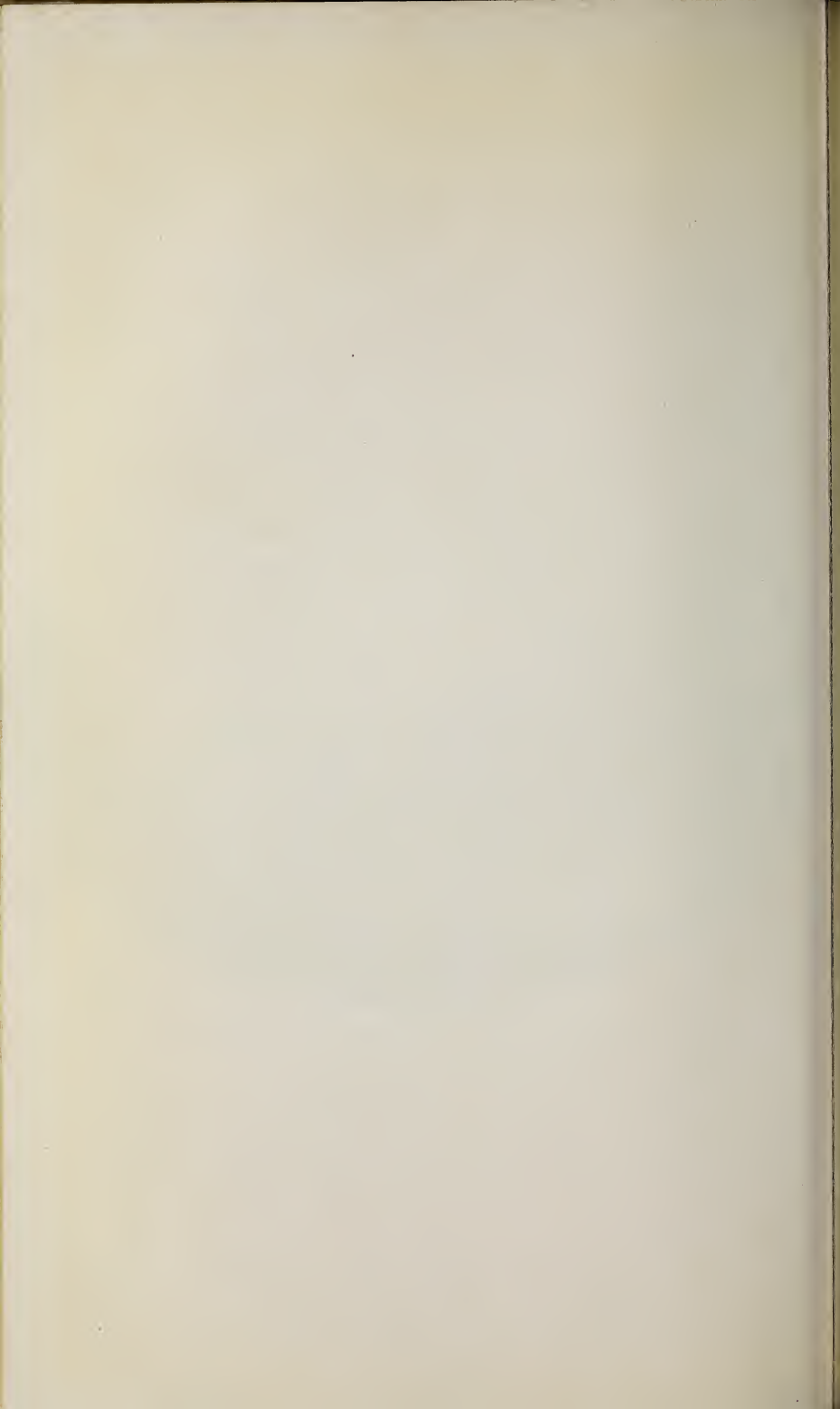
In those days the coaches were heavy, unwieldy things. In it were four seats, running crosswise, intended for eight persons, but more often twelve were squeezed inside. There were no springs under the coach; it was simply suspended by two leather straps, one on each side, extending from the front to the hind axle. When the front wheels dropped down into a hole, its occupants pitched ahead, when the hind wheels dropped down into a hole, we all pitched back; and so we kept it up day in and day out. I do not believe there was a rod in the whole distance, but that some wheel was out of line, either in a hole, or climbing over a stone, stump, or root. If you were fortunate enough to get a corner seat you could brace and hold yourself somewhat, but the middle men had nothing to brace against, and I wonder that their backs were not all unhooked. Frequently we were stalled, and if the efforts of the horses, aided by the whip and profanity of the driver, could not pull us out, we were all ordered by that autocrat to get out. From his orders there was no appeal; his word was law—reckless was the man who ventured any advice or made any suggestion: at all times he was "half-cocked", held only by a hair trigger, and the slightest jar would touch him off. He was master of the English language with its variations and no discount on him. The trouble was generally with the hind end of the coach, the baggage being all lashed to the boot so that most of the weight came on the hind wheels. After we had all gotten into position and the driver had his arms straightened up for a pull,

¹⁸ Advertisement in *Milwaukee Directory*, 1847. An advertisement quoted in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIII, 323, shows that in 1844 Genung & Co. conducted a line of mail stages from Madison to Milwaukee by way of Lake Mills, Summit, and Prairieville.

¹⁹ Recollections of Aaron Rankin. Ms. in possession of the writer.



STAGECOACH ON EAU CLAIRE-BLACK RIVER FALLS LINE



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at the command of the autocrat, we and the horses were expected to pull and lift at the same time, and we generally succeeded in getting it out; but at times we had to get levers and pry it up. While not one of the drivers was a saint, they were not all bad men.

On the road the stage driver is a very busy man—he is lookout, pilot, captain, conductor, brakeman, engineer, fireman, and, to use a slang phrase of today, “the whole thing”. He must always read the road. He knows every stone, stump, root, and hill, but he is frequently deceived in the condition of the ground. Where yesterday he passed over safely, today his wheels break through and he finds no bottom. When he has a bad piece of road, and no way around it, he must go through, trusting to luck and his own skill for success. Approaching the station, or village, while yet a long way off, he blows his horn to notify the small boys and loungers of his coming and for them to assemble at the stage house to receive him. Drawing nearer, he jerks on his lines and presses his foot on the footboard, whip in hand. Every horse is expected to pull his hardest until they arrive at the exact spot, and at the word of command to stop. He is the hero of every small boy and the champion of every lounge. But to see him in his glory is to see him when he starts out in the morning with a fresh team. He comes up in front of the stage house flying; the horses are nervous and uneasy while the passengers are getting aboard, but he is master of the situation; he is happy, for he knows that he is the observed of all by the small boys and loungers gathered to see him off. Baggage all strapped, passengers all in, everything ready, he is prepared to act—he is not yet ready—first he slaps his hat over on one side of his head, gives the ends of his lines a professional swing over on top of the coach, places his foot firmly on the footboard, pulls up his lines, whip in hand, rolls his quid of tobacco around to the right spot, and then issues the command to the horses. Each horse is expected to press into his collar at that instant like the touch of an electric button, and do his best to forge ahead. This speed is kept up until he is out of sight of the loungers and small boys, when he slackens the pace and the regular day's journey has begun.

But the most glorious period of the stagecoach was at hand, when the plank road made going rapid and travel comfortable. Whether impelled by the unbearable losses and discomforts, or by American impulsiveness, plank roads were now being constructed or projected all over the more densely settled portions of the State. In order to note the changes produced by this innovation, a consideration of the Milwaukee and Watertown Plank Road will suffice. Begun at Milwaukee in June, 1849, the road was completed to Watertown, fifty-one miles, during the summer of 1851. On a trip over this road, October 12,

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1853, General King of the Milwaukee *Sentinel* tallied 363 teams going east, 283 carrying about 14,000 bushels of wheat.²⁰

Stages to and from Watertown now made connections with Wisconsin's pioneer railroad at the Forest House, three miles northeast of Waukesha, thus shortening still more the time to and from Milwaukee. This was also the beginning of the stage lines shifting their terminals to make connections with the advancing railroads. Here is the announcement for 1853:²¹

For Northwestern Wisconsin.

Stages will leave the Forest House, 16 miles west of Milwaukee, in connection with the Railroad immediately after the arrival of the 7½ o'clock A. M. and 3¼ P. M. trains out of Milwaukee, passing through Pewaukee, Hartland, Oconomowoc, to Watertown, 51 miles on the Plank Road.

Returning leave Watertown in time to connect at the Forest House with the morning train, arriving in Milwaukee 12½ M.

By this arrangement Watertown passengers can leave that place in the morning, and return in the evening, having three hours to do business in Milwaukee.

Leave Watertown at 1½ o'clock P. M., passing through Oak Grove, Beaver Dam, Fox Lake, Waupun, to Fond du Lac, the same evening.

Extras furnished on the shortest notice and on reasonable terms, for all parts of the state. The above lines in connection with the Railroad at the Forest House, are run in good Four Horse Post Coaches.

J. Frink & Co.,

General Stage Office, 17 Wisconsin St., Milwaukee.

Although seemingly at the height of its prosperity and efficiency, the end was in sight for the stagecoach. It receded before the invasion of the iron horse, and though lingering for years in sequestered regions, it finally became extinct.

Having described the taverns of early Wisconsin with their varied functions and given a brief sketch of the stage lines, mention will now be made by counties of some of the more prominent hostelries and landlords. It is regrettable that comparatively little use can be made of the great mass of material collected, and that many interesting incidents must be suppressed for lack of space. Some of the minor stage lines of this period will receive casual notice.

²⁰ Watertown *Chronicle*, October, 1853.

²¹ *Ibid*, April, 1853.

The Taverns and Stages of Early Wisconsin

Green Bay

Green Bay has the distinction of being the site of the first licensed tavern in what is now the State of Wisconsin. Hon. John P. Arndt, a Pennsylvanian of German parentage, opened this house to the public in 1825 and was its first landlord. He conducted it for a number of years, the house being noted for its good cheer and the toothsome German dishes prepared by his wife. An energetic, enterprising man of varied activities, Judge Arndt left his impress upon the Fox River Valley, a fit prototype of the numerous landlords who were so influential in the development of our State. He was a member of the Territorial Council during the years 1836-38.²²

So much has been written about the famous hotels of Green Bay, that a mere mention of them must suffice. Daniel Whitney built the Washington House on the site of the Beaumont about 1829. It served the public for years. In 1853 it was run by I. Parsons. The Astor House, named after its millionaire owner, John Jacob Astor, was opened in 1835. It was a large, square, three-story building, with green blinds and a cupola; with its mahogany furniture, elegant carpets, and silver service, it was not a tavern, but the first hotel in Wisconsin. Famous for years for its fine parties and political gatherings, it went up in flames in 1858. The United States Hotel, the "stage house" of the fifties, stood on the site of the city hall. It was a popular tavern when under the management of G. P. Farnsworth in 1853-55.

The Lead Region

The lead region could boast of a number of noted taverns and landlords. One of the latter was that "staunch, sound man", Col. Ebenezer Brigham of Blue Mounds, who settled in Wisconsin in 1828. One of the earliest traders and tavern-keepers, he was well liked and a prominent figure in territorial days. He served in the territorial council nine terms; he was appointed

²² For a sketch of Judge Arndt's career, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XX, 381.

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postmaster by Jackson and held this office until his changed political views caused his removal in 1857.²³

In 1836, when Milwaukee had a population of 206, Mineral Point, the metropolis of the new Territory, claimed 2,000. Mining camp and land office, it was full of miners, teamsters, speculators, gamblers, and strangers, a rough, "wide open" town; but Col. Abner Nichols, the redoubtable, yet popular landlord, had his motley patrons well in hand. He, too, came in 1828 and is said to have been a Cornishman. His tavern consisted of three or four log houses, connected by passageways. When Theodore Rodolf arrived in 1834, he stopped at Hood's tavern, kept by a miner's wife. He said that she kept a good house for those times.

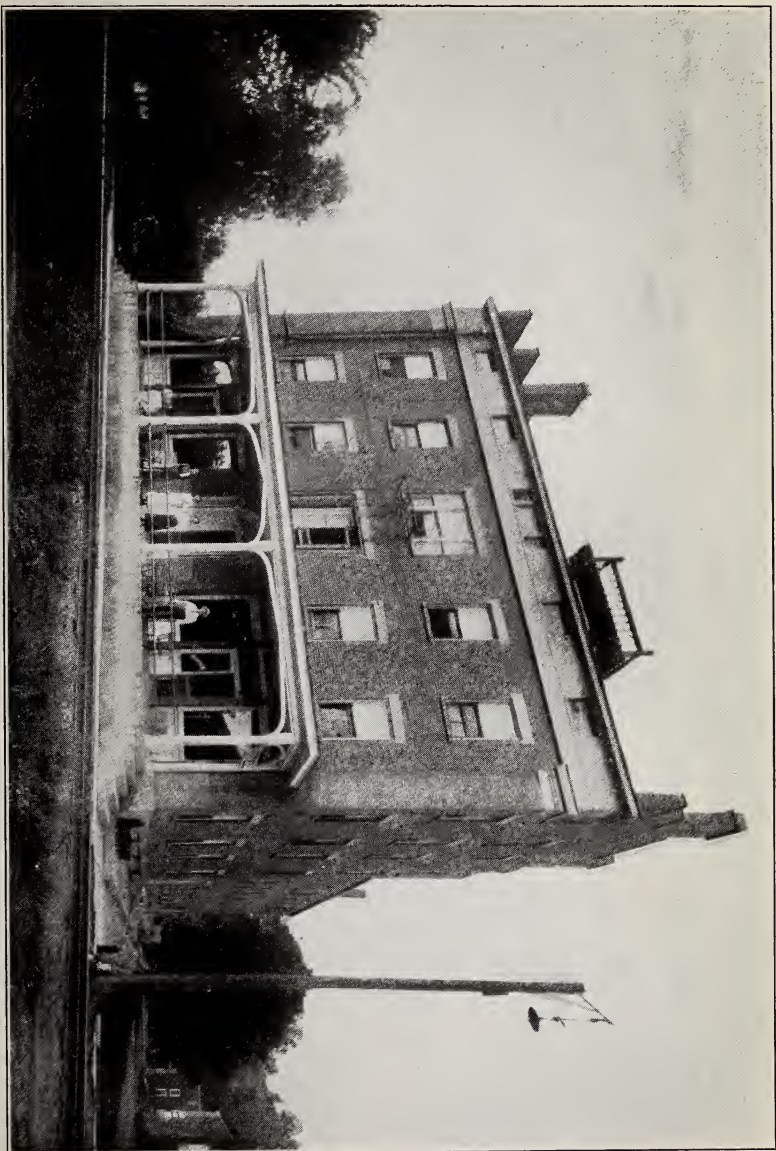
Col. John Moore, who won his title under Jackson, was another noted landlord of this section. Born in North Carolina in 1784, he came to Wisconsin in 1828, and in 1833 built a large tavern adjoining the site of what a few years later became the first capital of the territory, old Belmont. He continued at this stand until a few years before his death in 1847. Colonel Moore was an active, powerful man, standing six feet two and weighing 240 pounds, and though of slight education, he had good, practical sense. Warm-hearted and hospitable, with hosts of friends, no landlord was more popular.

Charles H. Lamar, prominent in early Lafayette County politics, kept a popular tavern on the stage road, two and one-half miles east of White Oak Springs. It was a large, two-story, frame building and the stage changed horses there.

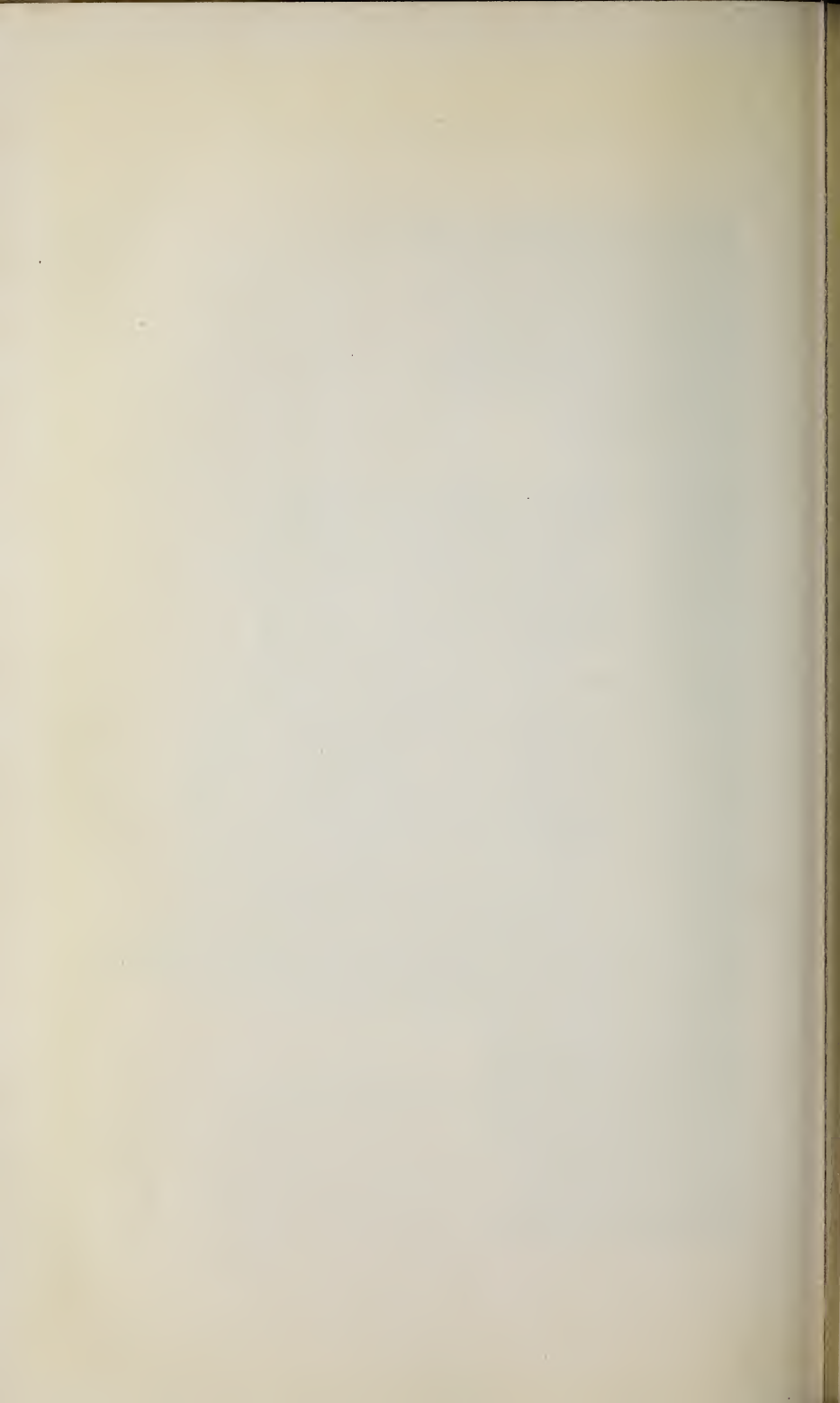
Grant County

Grant County boasts of a tavern with a most unique history. In the fall of 1836 Cassville was a candidate for the capital of Wisconsin Territory, which then extended to the Missouri River, and as a strong inducement its promoters, the New York Company, offered to donate a capitol building; but losing the prize by a vote of 7 to 6 in the council, the structure was then completed for use as a hotel. The panic of 1837 putting a quietus on Cassville's boom, it was used as a warehouse till 1852, when

²³ *Baraboo Republic*, Mar. 23, 1857.



DENNISTON HOUSE, CASSVILLE



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Governor Dewey after his retirement occupied it as a residence. Since 1855 it has been used as a hotel. It was named after Gen. J. W. Denniston, one of the promoters.

The American House at Monroe played an important role in Green County history. In its hall James R. Vineyard was tried and acquitted for killing Hon. Charles C. P. Arndt.²⁴ The Monroe House of the same place, when conducted by Joseph Kelley, was a noted tavern. In 1853-54 he advertised²⁵ that the stages from Milwaukee put up at his house three nights a week; the Rockford and Mineral Point stages two nights a week; and the Freeport and Madison stage once a week.

At Prairie du Chien, which also claims the first licensed tavern, and where the Phoenix House and the Prairie House flourished long ago, C. W. Hufschmidt (Charlie), perhaps the last of the old time landlords, closed his long and honorable career. In 1858-59 he was proprietor of the St. Julien, at Reeds Landing, Minnesota, then a gateway of the Chippewa Valley; for many years prior to his death in 1908 he was host of the Dousman House at Prairie du Chien. A big, kindly German, he was everything that makes an ideal landlord. He was loved by all, and despite his nearly ninety years he was young to the end.

Kenosha County

Before the advent of the railroad Kenosha was the market for the rich country back of it as far as the Rock River, but among the many taverns lining its tributary roads the more prominent only are here mentioned. At Truesdell, on the Geneva road, is a tavern still running, which was known in the forties as Kincaid's. On the same road, S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$, S. 3, T. Bristol, Sereno Fowler, a native of Connecticut, built a boarding school in 1844, which he converted a few years later into a tavern. Dying in

²⁴ Vineyard and Arndt were members of the Governor's Council. In the course of a dispute over the confirmation of one of Governor Doty's appointments to office they quarreled; an altercation ensued, in the course of which Vineyard shot and killed Arndt. The tragedy occurred in the council room itself. Vineyard was tried on a charge of manslaughter. Charles Dickens, who was then touring America, cited this tragedy in his *American Notes* as typical of public life in the West.

²⁵ Monroe *Sentinel*, June 14, 1854.

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1848, his widow married James Kellogg, who ran it for some years. Two and one-half miles west of Kellogg's, Jackson, a member of the legislature in 1846, conducted a tavern.²⁶

Two and one-half miles west of Jackson's on the same road, stood the tavern of Dr. Francis Paddock, State senator and father of twelve children. About a mile west was the noted Brass Ball House of Daniel C. Burgess, a native of New York. It took its name from the sign, a large brass ball.

On the town line road, later the plank road, three miles west of the city, was Peter Martin's tavern, a favorite with Kenosha young people for dances during the sleighing season. Wood's tavern, about five miles west of Martin's, was opened September 1, 1850. Built by Uriah Wood, a member of the Legislature in 1847, who died in the fall of 1850, it was continued for four years by his son. Both were natives of Canajoharie, New York.

On the same road, S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$, S. 32, T. Paris, was the tavern of Lyman Dutton. Its popularity may be inferred from this advertisement in the Kenosha *Telegraph* of January 17, 1851:

"Farmers Exchange Fair after the Old English Style, for the purchase, sale, and exhibition of any article of Agriculture or Manufacture will be held at Dutton's Tavern on the last Tuesday in February." In 1850 it was the place of the first annual meeting of the Kenosha County Agricultural Society.

Jonathan Eastman and wife, Phoebe, kept a popular temperance tavern seven miles southwest of Kenosha. Eastman had one of the first bearing orchards in the county. Then there was Coffin's tavern on the Burlington road, S. 17, T. Brighton, and the Wilmot House of Wilmot, opened by Ephraim Wilcox, July 4, 1850 and still running.

Perhaps the most notable tavern in the county was the Acknuckochowoc House, the name meaning "great bend", erected by Gen. John Bullen in 1837 in S. 18, T. Salem, at the east end of Bullen's bridge over the Fox River, also built by him in the

²⁶ The following news item is taken from Kenosha *Telegraph*, July, 1851. "On July 4, there was a big celebration at A. B. Jackson's tavern, Bristol. S. M. Booth, of Milwaukee, delivered the oration before a thousand persons. Five hundred guests sat down to a well cooked bountiful dinner under an awning. Many toasts and responses were given, but it was a temperance meeting throughout."





UNION HOUSE, ROCHESTER



MARTIN'S TAVERN, CHAMBERLAIN

The Taverns and Stages of Early Wisconsin

same year. The tavern was kept by the General (militia) until about 1847, when he constructed the National Hotel at Kenosha. He was also the chief promoter of the plank road which followed the town line to the S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$, S. 34, T. Brighton, thence angling southwest to Bullen's bridge. He died at Kenosha, August 15, 1850, aged sixty-seven.

Racine County

Elisha Raymond Sr., a soldier of the Revolution, who located on S. 24, T. Raymond, in 1835, kept one of the earliest important country taverns in Racine County. He was a man of means and brought with him a drove of live stock.

Capt. John T. Trowbridge built a two-story log tavern in the town of Dover in 1836. A former sea captain, he served Wisconsin as postmaster, justice of the peace, and member of the Territorial Legislature.

In 1836, Levi Godfrey, founder of Rochester, opened the first tavern in the western part of the county. That same year, in this large, double log house the first political convention in Wisconsin was held for the nomination of candidates to the Territorial Legislature. In 1838 Godfrey built a new frame tavern on the site of the present Union House, selling it later to Peter Campbell. In 1843 Campbell built the brick portion of the present hotel, and on July 4, 1856, the stone addition in the rear, with its large ballroom, thirty-two feet wide and sixty long, was dedicated. The popular landlord was cleared of debts by the success of the party, but died three weeks later. The Rochester House, which stood on the east side of the river, was conducted in 1851 by J. H. Hall.

About the year 1839 S. C. Russ opened a tavern just behind the site of the three-story brick Waterford House, which he built in 1845. The latter is now occupied as a dwelling. Ebenezer Soules kept the Fox River House, another popular tavern at Waterford.

On the site of the present Jones House, Burlington, Hugh McLaughlin, a native of Herkimer, New York, dedicated his new tavern, the Burlington House, by a grand ball, January 1, 1840. In 1860 it was acquired by Charles J. Jones, who in 1874

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moved it a block south, and erected on its original site the Jones House. The staunch old building is now used as a tenement house.

In going west from Racine in the early fifties one passed these taverns: Dan Benton's, W. A. Foster's Four Mile House, Lute Secor's at Skunk Grove, Roland Ives's at Ives Grove, James Mather's in the S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$, S. 7, T. Yorkville, and, a mile beyond, J. D. Searle's famous house, with its large dance hall. The first time a fat man danced on its spring floor he stopped the music in alarm, exclaiming, "Hold on, your floor's got the 'ague'." Then came the place of Robert Hankinson, an Englishman, on S. 17, T. Dover; at the junction of the plank road and the Burlington branch, stood the house of W. H. Addington, prominent in local politics; and about two miles southwest was the house of Joseph Tinker, an Englishman, member of the assembly in 1851 and county treasurer in 1856.

Milwaukee County

The location of several important country taverns of Milwaukee County are now within the city limits. One of these is the Layton House, still used as a tavern, near the entrance to Forest Home cemetery. This three-story brick building was built by John Layton and his son, Frederick, the philanthropist, in 1849. Charles Dewey, previously of the Western, Hale's Corners, was the lessee, after which the Laytons ran it for two years, being succeeded by John Mason, a noted landlord of Oak Creek.

The Dryfoos House, formerly of the Western, Hale's Corner's, is an old tavern. Julius Dryfoos, the proprietor, claims that in 1834 William Shields built the original tavern which forms a part of the present building. Among its noted landlords were Charles Dewey, Col. J. C. Crounse and Joseph Dryfoos, who took possession in 1873 and conducted it until his death at the age of ninety in 1910. Formerly popular with farmers and drovers, it is now patronized by automobile parties from the cities. William Hale, after whom the village was named, built the Planters in the forties. It was later known as the Southside Hotel, and upon its reconstruction after the fire in 1888 it was called Neussel's.

The Taverns and Stages of Early Wisconsin

One of the most popular taverns in the State was that of Capt. John Bell. Born in Otsego County, New York, he settled on S. 7, T. Greenfield, in 1842, opened his tavern in 1850, discontinued it in 1862, and died there in 1886 at the age of ninety-five. He was the embodiment of geniality. An odd character, but successful landlord, was Capt. George Knapp. As early as 1846 he kept the Five Mile House on the N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$, S. 15, T. Wauwatosa. In the fifties he moved a mile southeast on the Lisbon plank road. His place was especially popular with Milwaukee young people. On the occasion of their parties he wore knee breeches, low buckle shoes, and his hair in a queue. He hated the railroads and refused to ride on them even on a pass.

Waukesha County

Until 1846 Waukesha County was a part of Milwaukee County. The astute politicians of the former section, perceiving in the rapid growth of the metropolis an impending loss of influence, anticipated the theory of "squatter sovereignty" by securing the enactment of a law which left the decision regarding separation solely to the votes of the dissatisfied towns. As a result of this successful political maneuver the politicians had not only a larger number of local offices at their disposal, but Waukesha County furnished during the first fourteen years of the State's existence, the governor during six years, a United States senator, a secretary of state, and a state superintendent of public instruction. Since the immense traffic to and from Milwaukee passed chiefly through Waukesha County, it contained more taverns than any other territory of equal size, and, as every one of them was a forum of politics, this was the political hotbed of the State. Fourteen of its tavern-keepers were members of the Legislature, a number serving several terms, and one had been a senator from Racine County.

The scope of this article permits a list of only the more important taverns of this county. Going west on the Watertown plank road one passed the Topliff House at Elm Grove; the taverns of C. C. Dewey and John Henson; the Dousman, later kept by Dan Brown; Brackett's; the Phoenix of John B. Cable; and the taverns of William S. Clock, Jacob Weitzel, Ezra Maynard, David Arlt, and Theodore Loomis—all in a distance of four and

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one-half miles. Turning northwest on the plank road one passed the Forest House, Mosley Clark's tavern at Pewaukee, and the Burr Oak and Otis's and Frey's taverns at Hartland; Francis Schraudenbach's tavern at Nashotah, Israel McConnell's at Okauchee, Joseph Mann's at the river, and the La Belle House at Oconomowoc. Going west from Loomis' one passed E. P. Maynard's, Tubb's, Crombie's, the Hawks, and Barber taverns at Delafield, and C. L. Annis' and J. D. McDonald's in Summit. At Waukesha were the Prairieville, Exchange, and American houses; at Genesee, Gabriel Corwin's and Major Treadway's Gifford's at North Prairie, Oliver Gibson's at Eagleville, Jerry Parson's at Jerico, Howe's in S. 32, T. Eagle, and the Adams House at Waterville. Beginning at the county line and traveling southwest on the Mukwonago plank road, these were encountered: the taverns of William S. Parsons, S. Hunkins, P. V. Monroe, Captain F. W. Putney, L. McLean, J. W. Fritz, and W. A. Vanderpool. At Mukwonago there were the Exchange, the Mukwonago House, and J. Stockman's tavern, with L. Stockman's a good mile beyond. Traveling southwest on the Janesville plank road, one passed George Green's tavern, Senator "Vic." Willard's at the foot of Little Muskego Lake, Martin's tavern at Chamberlain, Aaron Putman's at Big Bend, and Jesse Smith's. The principal taverns on the Lisbon plank road were those of Francis Bell at Butler and Captain W. W. Caswell at Merton.

Among such an array of landlords and taverns it is hard to single out a few for special mention. Matthew Kilmister, of the Forest House, a little Englishman, who, with his musical family, had been brought to America by P. T. Barnum, was one of the jolliest, wittiest entertainers, and his table was beyond criticism. He and his daughters gave musical and dancing parties which were attended by persons prominent in Waukesha society; but farmers, teamsters, and railroad men were also his loyal patrons. He died in 1882, aged seventy-five. In cheering the lives of thousands, he was, like others of his kind, a true benefactor of the race, and the world was brighter for his presence.

Leonard Martin, whose large tavern, shorn of its wings, survives as a farmhouse, played an important role as pioneer, landlord, merchant, farmer, and politician.

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"Uncle" Jesse Smith, a pioneer of 1837, built a frame tavern on S. 33, T. Vernon, in 1842, which, destroyed by fire, was replaced in 1847 with one of stone, now used as a farmhouse. It was provided with a spring floor ballroom in the third story, a stone oven with a capacity of forty pies, and water conveyed by gravity from a nearby spring. His family did the work in the house and on the large farm, the wife knitting the stockings for all. He served three terms in the Legislature.

Genial, intelligent Samuel H. Barstow, who came from Connecticut in 1839, was equally efficient as landlord and office-holder. His principal charges were the Prairieville and American houses, at Waukesha. He was a brother of Governor Barstow.

Capt. F. M. Putney kept a tavern a mile northeast of Prospect Hill from 1845 to 1848, the stage from Milwaukee stopping for breakfast and changing horses there. Later he acquired the Exchange House, at Waukesha. He was a successful business man, doing much to build up the place.

The Prairieville House, at the junction of Main street and White Rock avenue, was for years the leading tavern of Waukesha. Popular as a place of entertainment, it was the scene of political plots and gatherings, the resort of lawyers and slave hunters, and when the territorial road was at its zenith, the stage house. Its other famous landlord was Peter G. Jones, a strong, unique character. Though very portly, he was a fine dancer; a stylish dresser, he wore ruffled shirts after they were out of fashion. The railroad and the shifting of the business center at length caused the tavern's decline.

Before the railway and the Watertown plank road had diverted traffic from the territorial road, Delafield had three taverns, foremost of which was the Hawks House. A keen politician, a practical joker, a capital story teller, and a good provider, landlord Nelson P. Hawks, while a resident of Aztalan, had also the distinction of being the builder of the first steamboat constructed in Wisconsin.

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Walworth County

Since the various histories of Walworth County mention its leading taverns their notice here is brief. Maj. Jesse Meacham, a veteran of the War of 1812, kept a popular tavern at Troy until that place was eclipsed by East Troy. The latter had two famous taverns; the East Troy House, founded by Austin McCracken in 1836 and attaining its highest renown under the régime of Emery Thayer, 1842-53, and the Buena Vista House. The three and one-half story cobblestone house was built by Samuel R. Bradley, a former Milwaukee landlord, who with his one-horse wagon collected all the stone used in its construction. Notwithstanding its grand opening about 1847-48, when many distinguished persons were present, misfortune overtook the proprietor. Although the mortgage against the property was satisfied in 1848 and recorded in 1851, Bradley and his wife mysteriously disappeared soon afterward and were never heard of again. Both houses are still running, the Buena Vista as good as new under the management of Bullion and Himebaugh.

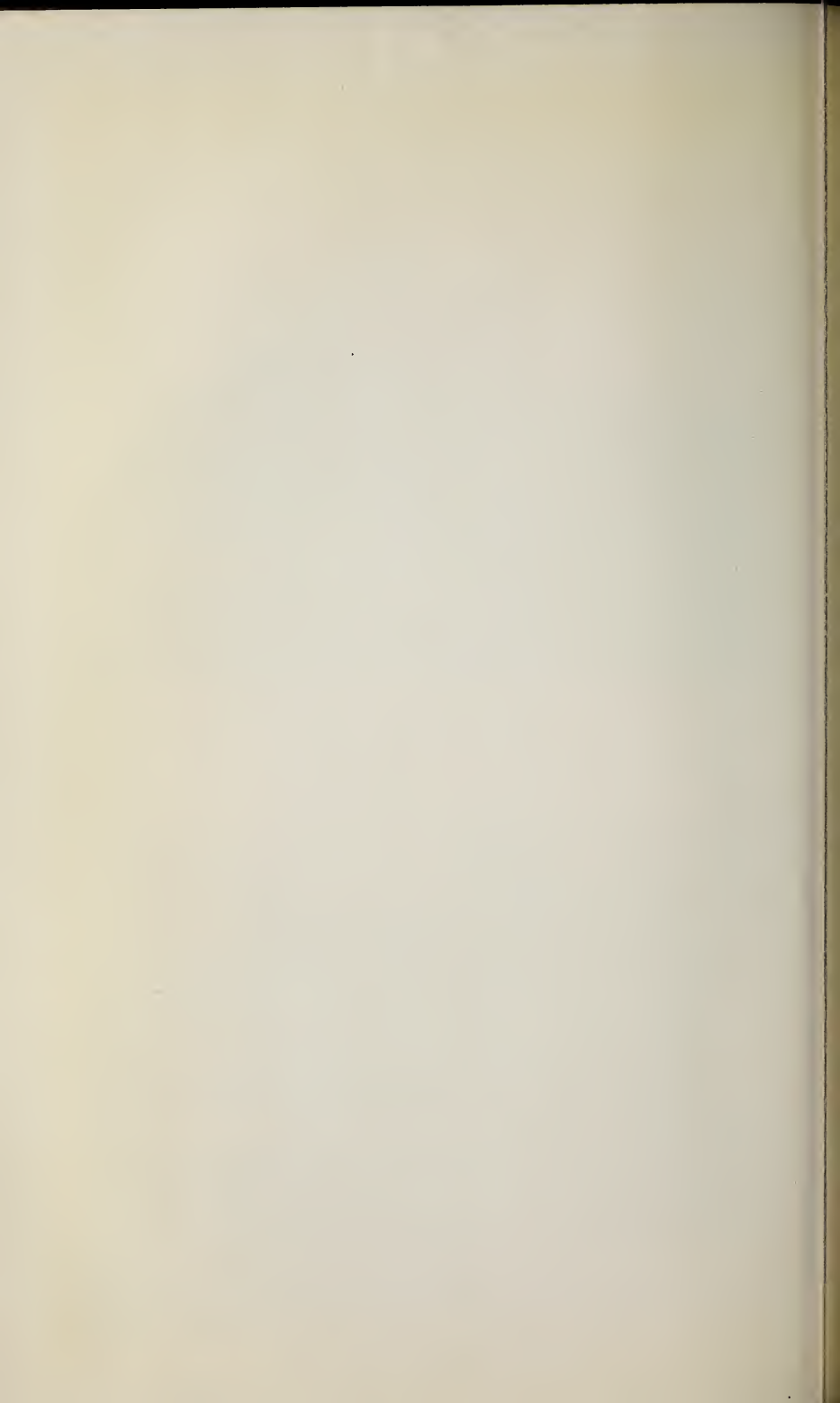
Among other taverns on the Janesville road was J. H. Stewart's, half a mile east of Troy, and Simpson Dart's just beyond that village; two miles west of Mayhew was the Lafayette House of Ralph Patrick, commonly called the "Gravel Tavern"; at the junction with the Racine road Samuel D. Hastings kept the Wisconsin House in 1848; then came Samuel H. Tibbitt's popular stage house, and a mile west, on S. 10, T. Sugar Creek, was Freeborn Welch's gravel tavern, originally conducted by John D. Cowles; then came Joseph Barker's on S. 9; Solomon Finen kept a tavern north of Turtle Lake, and Perkins S. Childs one at Richmond. Winslow Storms had a tavern at Vienna, Dr. A. A. Hemmenway one at Spring Prairie, and Adam E. Ray, who served a number of years in the Legislature, one at Little Prairie. Still other taverns were those of Captain Chamberlain northeast of Potter's Lake, of George C. Smith and Hilkiah Lilly at Lyons, of Newton McGraw at Darien, and of C. Douglass at Douglass Corners.



RHOADS' HOUSE, MEDINA



BUENA VISTA HOUSE, EAST TROY



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Rock County

Hon. Joseph Goodrich, previously mentioned, was one of the most enterprising tavern-keepers of Wisconsin. He was the founder of Milton and its college, its first landlord, merchant, treasurer, and postmaster. In 1855 he was elected to the Legislature without opposition. In 1838 he built a log house 16 feet wide and 20 feet long, in which he lived with his family of thirteen, and kept store and tavern in it besides. The governor, members of the Territorial Legislature, and leading lawyers stopped with him there. The makeshift table was taken out at night and guests slept on the floor or on improvised beds. His rates at the time were a shilling (12 ½ cents) for a meal and the same for lodging. In 1845 he erected a large gravel (grout) tavern which he conducted until his death at the age of sixty-seven in 1867.

According to Ellery B. Crane, of Worcester, Massachusetts, an early resident of Beloit, the Beloit House was the first tavern in that city. After several landlords, Otis P. and Charles H. Bicknell took charge in 1844, and from that time until 1852 it enjoyed its greatest popularity. It was the stage house. The Rock River House opened in 1840, passed into the possession of Samuel G. Colley and H. W. Cator in 1845. The former became sheriff and assemblyman, the latter, sheriff. In 1855 the building was removed and on its site Prof. J. J. Bushnell erected a new hotel, the Bushnell House; in 1868 it was bought by S. G. Goodwin who changed its name to the Goodwin House.

An account of the taverns on the stage route between Janesville and Madison has been written by Byron Campbell of Evansville, which renders a notice of them here unnecessary. At Johnstown Center, at one time an important point on the Milwaukee stage road, Henry B. Johnson conducted a fine tavern, with a large, spring floor ballroom, while at old Johnstown John A. Fletcher ran one. He was one of four men, all named John, who laid out the township, hence the name, Johnstown. A mile and a half west of Johnstown Center stood David McKillip's tavern.

At Clinton Corners, a mile west of the present Clinton Junction, Griswold Weaver kept a public house, and at Summerville,

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four miles east, Bill Hillsdale was the most popular landlord between Beloit and Darien. In 1848 A. Warner was landlord of the Green Mountain House, six miles north of Janesville, and E. D. Woodbridge of the Spring Valley House, in S. 3, T. Spring Valley. The arrival of the railroad and the passing of the stage line to Racine are indicated by Levi Spears in 1857, when he offers his Emerald Grove House for sale. It was a two-story brick building, 36 by 50 feet, with a wooden annex, 24 by 36 feet and a stable 30 by 60 feet.²⁷

Jefferson County

After the completion of the plank road, Watertown, early a place of promise, became the second city in the State and a bonanza for taverns; their story, however, has been well told in local histories. People and produce from the country to the west and north for many miles passed through Watertown to Milwaukee, and land seekers made it their headquarters. J. B. Van Alstine, for years the popular landlord of the Exchange, declared that he thought business dull in those palmy days unless he had a hundred guests and as many horses to care for. Two of the old taverns are still running, the Watertown House, now the Commercial, and the Buena Vista, which was opened in February, 1848, by Capt. Henry Bogel, a veteran of the Mexican War. During the régime of William Wiggernhorn and his son, Eugene, the Buena Vista was the rendezvous of German revolutionist refugees, among them Carl Schurz and Emil Rothe, while on Sundays German services were held in its hall.

The present Jefferson House, at Jefferson, occupies the site of an older house of the same name which served in the early days as a temporary courthouse. Its most distinguished landlord was Capt. Daniel Howell, state senator in 1854-55.

The Green Mountain House, now a part of the Hotel Fort, of Fort Atkinson, was opened in 1848 by Milo Jones. There was a grand celebration at this house, July 4, of that year, at which Aunt Sally (Mrs. Jones) served a meat dinner, a meat supper and, *mirabile dictu*, ice cream and cake at three o'clock A. M.

²⁷ Advertisement in *Janesville Gazette*, March, 1857.

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Two miles east of Watertown stood the Wisconsin House, "with its never failing supply of water";²⁸ next came the Maple Grove Tavern of Hamilton Hastings at Ixonia; and a mile east of it was Vicksburg, on the Rock River, with its Sacramento House. At Concord was Austin Kellogg's place; at Johnson's Creek Charles Bell held forth; at Aztalan, where four stages made connections for the cardinal points, the Aztalan House served its numerous patrons; at Milford was Nute's popular stand; at Lake Mills, J. L. Manville (whig sheriff) and E. Baldwin kept the American House; and at Waterloo John Walker was landlord of the Waterloo House. At Golden Lake Ortiges Bullwinkel, a droll German, who later removed to Helenville, was tavern-keeper and brewer. In S. 4, T. 6, R. 14, stood William Torrey's Yellow Tavern; four miles northwest of Fort Atkinson was Jared Crane's public house, while in S. 17, T. 6, R. 13, Erastus Snell kept the "temperance" Cedar Lake House, where the stage changed horses. In 1850 Wilcox and Brace ran the tavern at Sullivan, then in S. 25, T. 6, R. 16, and advertised: "No money required of Pedlars for their bills by their choice."²⁹ This was evidently a bid for their good will.

Dodge County

Only a few of the country taverns of large, fertile Dodge County can be given. The names of those along the Watertown stage line were obtained chiefly through Mr. J. E. Sawyer of Horicon, Wisconsin.

Town of Oak Grove: Major Pratt built the first log house and tavern in 1841, in the N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$, S. 31; E. Owen's place was a half mile north in the S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$, S. 32, and the Caldwell House in the S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$, S. 19. Sam Stanton, who arrived in 1843, ran the popular house in the N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$, S. 8. Stages changed horses there. Thomas Marshall's tavern stood on the N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$, S. 7.

Town of Burnett: Smith's Inn, on the S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$, S. 32, the favorite on the line, was conducted by Ranslow Smith.

²⁸ Advertisement in *Watertown Chronicle*, February, 1851.

²⁹ *Waukesha Democrat*, Jan. 1, 1850.

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who arrived in 1844. At the southwest corner of the town Isaac Noyes kept tavern. George Smith, a brother of Ranslow, ran the house at the intersection of the roads, N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$, S. 32. A mile and a quarter north, on N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$, S. 20, Lyman Smith, another brother, kept tavern. His daughter married Sherman S. Booth the Abolitionist editor.

Town of Trenton: On the N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$, S. 15, James McCallum was landlord of the famous Buckhorn Tavern. He was born in Pennsylvania in 1816, and came to Wisconsin in 1844. He opened the tavern the same year, discontinued it as such in 1856, and died in 1888. G. C. Gunn kept the house at the S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$, S. 4, and David Bruce one at the S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$, S. 29, Town of Chester. About twelve miles north of the Buckhorn was the Red Hen.

In January, 1850, Daniel B. Douglas opened a tavern at Neosho. H. G. Phelps was the popular landlord at Mayville, beginning in 1847. Hustisford, which still depends on a stage, had William T. Ward and Sam Herrick successively as landlords. The massive Rock River House at Theresa, still in service, was built in 1858 by Theodore Husting and John Langenbach, and was long famous for its dinners of fish and game.

Washington and Ozaukee Counties

Philip Laubenheimer, who located at Richfield in 1842, kept the first tavern in Washington County. George N. Irish was a famous host of early West Bend, but of more permanent influence was B. Goetter, who was also a merchant and brewer. Timothy Hall kept the popular Half Way House on the Fond du Lac stage route, one and one-half miles northwest of Schleisingsville. The Webster House at Newburg, built for Lyon Silverman in 1849, was kept by D. F. Lytle in 1856; subsequently it was conducted by Charles Klettsch, later of the Republican House of Milwaukee.

Traveling north in Milwaukee County toward Cedarburg, the wayfarer was greeted by jovial Ernst Knauth's tavern sign, "Zum Braunen Hirsch", or The Brown Deer. A couple of miles over the line, in Ozaukee County, was Mequon, then a flourishing village. M. Silverman, merchant and landlord, kept the Mequon House in 1850-51; Griffin's was the stage house

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in 1852, while Giles B. Posson ran the Franklin House. William F. Opitz, a member of the assembly, also kept tavern here during this decade, and later one near Saukville. At Cedarburg, Col. Conrad Horneffer, sheriff in 1859, conducted the Washington House for years. At Grafton, formerly Hamburg; John Simon was the landlord of the Wisconsin House. At Saukville Joseph Fischbein kept the Pulaski House, and William Cooper the Saukville House. In 1848-49 Orlando Foster was the proprietor of the Washington Hotel, and in 1857 George F. Mecklem advertised the Mecklem House, corner of Main and Franklin streets, Port Washington.³⁰

Sheboygan County

The stage route from Sheboygan to Fond du Lac was a great thoroughfare, and after the completion of the plank road early in the fifties, J. Frink & Company had eighteen four-horse teams in service on this line, except in winter when four sufficed. Leaving Fond du Lac at seven o'clock, A. M., the stage changed horses at Newton Kellogg's excellent tavern, twelve miles east; crossing the county line it next passed John Ehle's place; at Greenbush it stopped at Sylvanus Wade's Half Way House, the best on the road, where the west bound passengers took dinner. The house is now run by his son. One-half mile east was Russel and Miller's tavern; then came Henry Giffin's Valley House, and two miles beyond, at Plymouth, dinner was taken at John W. Taylor's Cold Spring House; later Monroe Flint's Quitquioc House, now the Commercial, got this patronage. About five miles east was James Little's tavern; Samuel McComas held forth at Sheboygan Falls, and Warren Hill kept the stage house at Sheboygan.

Eberhard Schlaich, a college bred German, who came to Plymouth in 1850, was landlord and postmaster there for a number of years. A rare tribute was paid him in 1868, when his native town, Hepbach, Wurtemberg, wanted him for mayor, his father and grandfather having held that office for many years, but he preferred to remain in America.

³⁰ Ozaukee County *Democrat*, December, 1857.

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At Howard's Grove, Ernest Schlichting, called "Buschkoeing", because of his large holdings of woodland, kept the Washington House; and at Rhine Center, August Bruss, a mighty hunter, was landlord of the Flag until succeeded by Louis Senglaub, who was also a great shot.

Calumet County

The more important taverns in Calumet County were M. Ortlieb's and the Chilton House, at Chilton. Advertisements of the latter show James Robinson in possession in 1854 and Asaph Green in 1859.³¹ The rival town of Gravesville had Dennis Sharon at the helm of the Gravesville House in 1858, and I. C. Aldrich in 1895.³² Rudolph Puchner, who opened the first tavern at New Holstein in 1849, built a store and tavern combined in 1857. He was a German poet and writer of some note. He died in 1913, aged eighty-four, and was buried in Milwaukee, the Deutscher Press Club conducting the services.

Manitowoc County

Advertisements in the Manitowoc *Herald* show E. R. Smith as proprietor of the National Hotel in 1854; but from 1856 to 1863 the name of Thomas Windiate appears. Fred Langenbach is given as the landlord of Franklin Hall from 1853 to 1860, while the McCallum House of 1856 changes significantly to Germania Hall in 1857, with Schlueter and Troemel as proprietors.³³

E. M. Thorpe who was also a physician and dentist, appears at the head of Thorp's Hotel from 1857 to 1859. In 1856 Alexander McCallum offers his new hotel at Two Rivers for sale. In December 1857, William Stearne announces the opening of the new Fond du Lac and Manitowoc Stage Route, by way of Calumet and Chilton.

³¹ Manitowoc *Herald*, Apr. 1, 1854; Chilton *Times*, Aug. 13, 1859.

³² Gravesville *Republican*, August-September, 1858-59.

³³ During the Civil War Herman Schlueter became major of the 9th Wisconsin Volunteers, while his partner in the Germania Hall served as a lieutenant in the 26th Regiment. After the war and until his death in 1873 the latter conducted a German Republican paper, *Die Manitowoc Zeitung*.

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A famous tavern on the road to Green Bay was that of Clifford King, near the Maribel caves. But the most popular tavern in the county was that of August Teitgen, six miles southwest of Manitowoc, which was opened in 1852. The landlord, an educated, broad-minded, forceful German of great executive ability and sound judgment, became the counselor as well as the host of his newly-arrived countrymen. His wife was gentle and sympathetic, a friend to all in distress. The table, the rooms, the atmosphere, were all so attractive that even after its founder's death in 1885, the place was continued as a public house until 1909, when his son and successor passed away.

Charles Brandis, for years a successful landlord at Kewaunee, conducted the Steamboat House as early as 1859. In 1861 he advertised a Fourth of July ball, with tickets at \$1.50 and supper served at seven o'clock P. M.³⁴ In 1859, Mr. Simon, notary and postmaster, was proprietor of the Metropolitan House of Ahnapee (Algoma).

Only a few of the many German taverns north of Milwaukee have been mentioned. In a recent letter to the Sheboygan *Herald* an old-timer speaks appreciatively of them. He had come from the army weak and emaciated, but during the intensely cold winter months of 1863-64, he slept warm in the comfortable feather beds of these taverns and gained thirty pounds in six weeks on their substantial fare.

Fond du Lac and Green Counties

James Ewen, proprietor of the Lewis House, Fond du Lac, was one of the leading men of this city during the stirring decade from 1850 to 1860, when several plank roads and a railroad reached it. Ripon, too, had a landlord of great energy and daring enterprise, Capt. D. P. Mapes, who built two large hotels there, and was one of the founders of Ripon College. Peter V. Sang, a German, who had served eight years as a soldier at Fort Winnebago, started a tavern at Lamartine in 1843. He was successful and held many local offices. E. F. Underwood, now in his ninety-second year, opened the first tavern at Oakfield in 1855; he was the first postmaster, justice of the peace, and sta-

³⁴ Advertisement in Kewaunee *Enterprise*, May 15, 1861.

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tion and express agent (1856). Cromwell Laithe conducted the Waupun Exchange, 1853-56.

The principal taverns on the stage line from Ripon to Portage were the Center House, eight miles out; Dantz's, nine miles northeast of Kingston, and Albert Greenleaf's Kingston House. Austin McCracken, the founder of East Troy, built the Yosemite House at Markesan and became a power there. In 1856 Kingsbury's stage line was established from Portage to Oshkosh, by way of Kingston, Princeton, and Berlin. At Princeton was the American House; at Berlin, the Fox River House, Love's and Forsythe's; but names of taverns often changed with their proprietors.

Waushara, Portage, Wood, Juneau, and Waupaca Counties

After the completion of the railroad to Berlin in 1857, Davis & Moore's daily stage passed respectively the Four, Six and Eight Mile houses, then common appellations for wayside inns; it also passed Fuller's and the Spring Lake House to Wautoma, stopping at "Eb." Martin's or at "Old Nat" Boyington's.³⁵ Proceeding, Lloyd's was passed eight miles out, then Wigginhorn's at Buena Vista, and C. A. Loomis', at Plover. The journey ended at Stevens Point, where the stage put up first with "old man" Lloyd (Nelson B.) but later with Joseph B. Phelps, until William Avery's City Hotel became the stage house.

Leaving the railroad at New Lisbon, where W. P. Carr kept the stage house, the stage passed George Salter's Half Way House, six miles, proceeding thence to William Palmer's tavern at Yellow River (Necedah); ten miles beyond the latter dinner was taken at Sarles' Lone Pine House; twenty miles farther the stage was ferried across the river to Grand Rapids, where R. H. Grace, a man of weight (three hundred and forty pounds) kept the Grand Rapids House, J. X. Brands, the Magnolia, and D. F. Emerson, the Wisconsin; from Grand Rapids the stage proceeded to Plover and Stevens Point.

About the year 1856 Myers and Worden established a daily four-horse stage line from Stevens Point, by way of Plover, Nel-

³⁵ Wautoma *Journal*, May 25, 1858.

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son Blodgett's tavern at Stockton, Alexander Gray's at Badger, and A. E. Smith's excellent house at Waupaca, to Weyauwega and Gill's Landing, where, in season, boats arrived every evening from Fond du Lac and Oshkosh. The Landing was connected by a two-mile plank road with Weyauwega, assuring a good patronage to the latter's public houses. The Weyauwega House was especially popular under the régime of Maj. A. C. Worden of the stage line. He subsequently made a splendid war record and became sheriff of Waupaca County and chief of police at Oshkosh. He died at the latter place in 1912, at the age of eighty-five. The La Dow House did not fare so well. In 1856, G. A. Spurr, later of New London, and W. C. La Dow were proprietors; in 1859, J. C. Knox. The North American, now known as the Lake View House, was run by W. Baxter in 1855.

Going from Weyauwega with Young and Reas' stage a detour was made to Fremont, where A. J. Mayo kept the Fremont House in 1857; thence via Readfield past Theodore Spengler's tavern to Medina, where Capt. William Young officiated for years as landlord and stage operator. He won his title in the Civil War and was also State senator. Though quiet, he was strong physically and mentally. His firm also ran a stage line to Oshkosh, and later from Appleton to Shawano. It is said that on one occasion, to drive out competitors, he carried passengers free and gave them their dinner besides. He died in 1890, aged sixty-nine. There was another popular tavern at Medina, the Rhoades House, built by Andrew and Elias Rhoades in 1855. It was discontinued upon the death, in 1903, of Andrew, the surviving brother, at the age of eighty-eight.

At Winneconne C. R. Hamlin and A. C. McIntyre kept taverns. Later the indomitable Capt. D. P. Mapes came from Ripon and left his impress as landlord, hotel builder, and promoter of the railroad and the West Side. Two and one-half miles east was Julius Ashby's place; and at Butte des Morts, once a close contender for the county seat, Thomas R. Petford, an Englishman, who died in 1908, kept tavern for sixty years.

The earlier stages to Green Bay took the military road skirting the eastern shores of Lake Winnebago, but the development of the country west of it caused the establishment in the fifties of a stage line by way of Oshkosh and Neenah. The completion

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of the plank road from Green Bay to Kaukauna, together with the opening of the Fox River Canal, gave an impetus to this section, and in 1858-59, two rival lines of Concord coaches competed for the traffic between Green Bay and Oshkosh. The principal hostelrys on this line were M. Griffin's stage house and Col. R. P. Edgerton's Winnebago Hotel, at Oshkosh; R. C. Weeden's tavern at Neenah; M. Burrough's American House and E. B. Northam's tavern at Menasha; Thomas Hanna's National Hotel, and the taverns of A. B. Bowen and Col. R. P. Edgerton, at Appleton; Peter Martin's tavern at the foot of the Kaukauna Rapids; Wright's tavern at Wrightstown; and W. P. Call's American House at Depere.

On the line to Shawano Lucius Collar kept the tavern at Hortonville. At New London, in 1858, E. P. Perry conducted the Perry House "on the south side of the river near the steamboat landing",³⁶ and W. W. Hull, the Angier House, of which Lutsey was at one time proprietor. The New London House was built shortly after by Henry Ketchum, who was succeeded by George Spurr, an experienced, genial landlord. At Shawano the Traveler's Home was erected in 1855 on the site of the present Murdock House by Hiram Westcott, who conducted it till 1870. A native of St. Lawrence County, New York, he settled in this unbroken wilderness in 1853; before his death, which occurred in 1900 at the age of eighty-two, he saw a wonderful transformation in the surrounding region. He was a credit to his occupation.

Northern Wisconsin

The data about the following taverns were gleaned chiefly from contemporary numbers of the *Wausau Central Wisconsin*. From 1853 to 1874 Charles Andrew Singles advertised the Forest House of Wausau. "It was a good tavern for that country," said "Hod" Davis, of Berlin, Nestor of stage drivers, "though we did sit on benches in the dining room." In 1854-60 John LeMesuriere presided over the Washington and Superior houses, respectively, and managed a band. In 1857 S. Mitchell was proprietor of the United States Hotel, at Wausau; he was succeeded

³⁶ Advertisement in *Shawano Venture*, Oct. 15, 1858.

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by S. Kronenwetter in 1861. At Knowlton, Jacob X. Brands kept the tavern in 1856; in later years it was conducted by Leonard Guenther Sr. C. A. Loomis, afterward at Plover, founded the Twin Island House, midway between Wausau and Stevens Point, conducted by J. W. Babcock. At Falls City, George W. Kollock was proprietor in 1857-58. He was succeeded by W. G. Blair, whose widow kept the tavern as late as 1875. At Mosinee S. Kronenwetter held forth in 1859-61. At Eau Plaine, fourteen miles north of Stevens Point, M. Wylie advertised the Plymouth in 1856 as "new" and that "passengers from the steamer dine here daily". The tavern remained in his family until destroyed by fire a few years ago. About four miles south was Hall's place.

In 1860 O. C. Wheeler operated a daily stage line between Stevens Point and Wausau. Including stops it made the run in ten hours. Just before the railroad reached Wausau in 1874, D. P. Bentley ran this line as far as Merrill (Jenny). The hotels at this place during the seventh decade were the Eagle of A. Space, the Poesey of Jules Poesey, and the Jenny House of Alanson C. Norway, who served for thirteen years as county judge.

Columbia County

The portage on the old waterway from Green Bay to Prairie du Chien has been so generously treated by the historian, that little need be said about the early taverns of that vicinity. The Franklin House furnished "royal entertainments" to officialdom at Fort Winnebago, while among the half dozen hotels at Portage during its boom in the fifties, Uncle Dick Veeder's tavern was the most conspicuous. Those were years of golden harvests for Portage landlords, its population increasing from a few hundred in 1850 to 3,000 in 1854, and, it is averred, 10,000 persons crossed the Wisconsin River at this point in 1855. In 1852 John B. Dubay opened a tri-weekly stage line to Stevens Point, using "two horse elliptic spring carriages. Fare going \$3.50; returning, \$3.00."³⁷ Myers, Kollock, and Wigginhorn,

³⁷ Advertisement in *Portage River Times*, July 12, 1852; September, 1853.

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of Buena Vista, advertised a similar line in 1853. Dubay also operated a stage line to Madison. In 1853-54 the steamer "Clarion" plied between Galena, Portage City, and Dell Creek.

Among prominent Columbia County tavern-keepers were Wallace Rowan at Poynette; A. P. Birdsey, Columbus; Freeman Simmons, Lodi; and Major Dickeson at Wyoena.

Marquette, Sauk, and Richland Counties

The town of Oxford, which has recently been resuscitated, was quite a place in 1859-60, with two lawyers, two doctors, and twelve business houses. B. N. Smith and Henry Farnham were the landlords.³⁸ In 1861-62 Montello secured the supremacy in Marquette County; its tavern, the American House, was kept by Mark Derham, "that old popular landlord." George M. Davis ran the stage to Pardeeville.

Sauk County was tavern territory until a late date, for the Chicago & Northwestern Railway did not cross it till 1872. The American House, at Baraboo, was conducted by A. Q. Adams in 1855, P. Van Wendell in 1856, and W. C. Warner in 1859; the Baraboo House, by Lyman Clark in 1855-56, and Hiram T. Mason in 1857. The Western Hotel, at the northeast corner of the public square, built and formerly managed by Col. E. Summer, was kept by W. Wallace in 1856-58; the Exchange House by Volney Moore in 1857-59. At Reedsburg the Mansion House, built in 1855 by Dr. Mackey, was conducted from 1856 to 1859 by J. and A. Smith, who also owned the stage line to Baraboo. The Alba House, built in 1856 by Alba B. Smith, was bought in 1857 by Reuben Green, who also had the stage line to Kilbourn. At the Baxter House, Prairie du Sac, D. K. Baxter in 1857 and for years thereafter maintained the good name established by Steinmetz and Fife. O. Elmer ran the Cottage Inn at Delton, and Q. J. Adams, previously of Baraboo, the Dell Creek House at Newport.

The American House, the first tavern at Richland Center, was built by Ira S. Haselton, the founder of the village, who was later elected to Congress from Missouri. He was succeeded by

³⁸ Advertisement in Oxford *Republican Press*, Sept. 3, 1859.

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Albert Neff in 1855-56, who was followed by Hiram Wilsey, and he in turn by Neff in 1861. In 1857 McCune and Terry's stage line, by way of Richland City, made connections with the new railroad at Lone Rock.

Vernon County

The following description of Vernon County taverns was supplied by Gen. Earl M. Rogers, of Viroqua, shortly before his death, which occurred in January 3, 1914.

The first tavern in Viroqua was the Dunlap, a story and a half log building. It changed landlords often and finally was destroyed by fire. In 1852 Bullard and Terhune built the Buckeye. In 1855 the late General J. M. Rusk, but recently elected sheriff, became its landlord. Being a genial host, the Buckeye was always full and prisoners seemed pleased to be arrested by him. In the summer of 1852 Luther Nichols built the North Star; S. C. Lincoln was its landlord until the autumn of 1857, when Rusk took the management and made the North Star the popular stopping place.³⁹

In the spring of 1856 E. Alexander came to Bad Axe, later known as Liberty Pole, and having a fiddle, he saw an opportunity to apply his talents as a dancing master in a region where the contra dance was the principal amusement. He built the Wisconsin House, with the office, dining room, kitchen, and a bedroom on the first floor; the second floor contained a ballroom and two small bedrooms. He catered to the popular amusements of the time, fiddling for a while classic music, but as that did not move the souls to inspiration, the dancers employed local talent, one who could round up with "Old Dan Tucker" and the "Buffalo Girls," where all could join in the chorus: "I danced with a Buffalo girl, whose heel kept arocking and had a hole in her stocking." Belated travelers arriving on a night of such a "merry-go-round", were obliged to go to Viroqua.

Albert Bliss built a store and tavern combined at Readstown, in the Kickapoo wilderness. The meals prepared by Mrs. Bliss were the talk of the country.

³⁹ The following announcement appeared in the Viroqua *Western Times*, Nov. 19, 1856: "The Buckeye House—This well known stand formerly kept by J. M. Rusk, has been thoroughly repaired, and will hereafter be kept by the 'Old Proprietor' himself in person. J. M. Rusk." In 1857, in advertising a rate of 75 cents a day for board at this house, he signs himself "J. M. Rusk, High Sheriff of Bad Axe County." On Oct. 14, 1857, he announces he has taken charge of the North Star Hotel.

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De Soto was settled in 1856 by Boston people, cultured but short of capital. A Mr. Trott built the quite pretentious Bay State House, where the Bostonians met to talk of Hawthorne, Longfellow, and Emerson; most of them boasted of a personal acquaintance with Sumner and Wendell Phillips. They are gone; the river refuses a landing; the Burlington Railroad stops only a local at De Soto, but the old Bay State House still stands.

Old advertisements confirm the foregoing account and add the Victory House of John Sellers, and the Eagle Hotel of Eddy and Wetherbee, at Victory; and John Britt's tavern at Franklin City.

Relative to stage lines General Rogers writes:

The first stage line was established in 1848, supplying Mount Sterling, Badger, and Springville. Later the line was extended to Sparta, Black River Falls, Eau Claire, Menomonie, Hudson, and Stillwater, Minnesota, where it connected with another line running to St. Paul. During the winter of 1856-57, after the close of navigation, all mail and passengers passed over the "Overland" Black River road. Mail was brought from Galena to Prairie du Chien, whence it was forwarded in one bag to Stillwater over the above route. Passenger traffic was heavy. General Rusk was the contractor for the line from Prairie du Chien to Sparta. He was only an occasional driver, taking the reins when he went over the lines to settle bills, but this, no doubt, gave rise to the tradition that he had been a stage driver. In 1858, when the railroad reached La Crosse, the overland traffic on this line became quiet. [Yet in November 1858, Hurd and Rusk's advertisement of their stage, mail, and express line, appears for the first time as a "New & Short Route to St. Paul and all Points North, Through to St. Paul in Three Days."]

La Crosse County

In 1853 the Western Enterprise, built by J. M. Levy, corner of Front and State streets, La Crosse, was conducted by that "old, experienced, and widely known landlord", Simeon Kellogg; G. H. Willson, a famous host, formerly of the Onalaska House of that place, managed the pretentious New England House at Front and Main streets; while Tallmadge and Gridley ran the Tallmadge House at Third and State streets. The Augusta House, on the northeast corner of Front and Pearl streets, also built by J. M. Levy, was conducted in 1859 by E. Bicknell and Company. In 1854 Douglas and Price advertised a stage

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line from Black River Falls to La Crosse, "through in one day, fare, \$2.50". In 1856-57 H. B. Herrick, of Viroqua, ran a daily stage line between that place and La Crosse. There was also a stage line to Baraboo, and one to Portage before the construction of the railroad.⁴⁰

The best known tavern in Trempealeau County during the fifties was the one built by Alexander McGilvray, a Scotchman, in 1854, who also established a ferry across Black River, on S. 16, T. Caledonia. The tavern was in a busy place called Scotia, on the old Burbank stage route from La Crosse to St. Paul and the freight and mail route to old Whitehall.

Before the completion of the railroad from Green Bay to Winona, in 1871, Trempealeau was a great grain market and had several prosperous taverns. Among these were D. W. Gilfillan's Vermont House, the Trempealeau House, the Melchior House of Jacob Melchoir, and Frank Utter's tavern. Melchoir was the first brewer of the county. The Two Mile House of John Arnt and Simon's Four Mile House, had bar, dance hall and bowling alley.

Buffalo and Monroe Counties

In 1856 John Buehler conducted the Wisconsin House at Fountain City; C. W. Gilbert kept Gilbert's Hall and J. Bronnenkant, the Washington House. A little later and until 1894 Albert Scherer set the best table in Buffalo County, as the writer can attest. In 1858 J. R. Hurlburt was the proprietor of the Alma House, at Alma.

Sparta, at the intersection of two great stage lines, was a good place for taverns, but these have been described in local histories. In 1859 a big Fourth of July celebration was concluded with a dinner, "one of the grandest ever prepared, by S. B. Aylesworth of the Warner House." The twelfth toast, "The North and South: Let no other line than Crinoline divide them", was responded to by Prof. L. C. Morse.⁴¹ D. M. West kept tavern at Leon, in 1854 a close rival of Sparta for the county seat. Adam Russel was an early tavern-keeper near the site of Casti-

⁴⁰ La Crosse *Democrat*, April, 1854.

⁴¹ Sparta *Democrat*, July 13, 1859.

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ton, and Adrian Cole in Cole's Valley. The taverns of Sam Bacon, Hugh Gallagher and Pitts, and Tom Emory's tavern at Cataract, were on the Black River Falls stage road.

Jackson County

While the tavern-keepers have their Rusk whom they must share with the stage men, the latter can boast of a man who was "lumberman, lawyer, judge, legislator, merchant, banker, and operator of most undaunted nerve and unimpeachable character". This was William T. Price of Black River Falls, who at the time of his death was a member of Congress. Besides operating the line to La Crosse, already mentioned, he was the contractor for the link in the "Overland" between Sparta and Hudson.

Black River Falls was the habitat of the lumberman long before the coming of the farmer, and the Shanghai House of that place was opened in 1846 with a characteristic celebration, people attending from a great distance. Dancing continued for fifty-one hours and quantities of whisky were consumed. At a meeting of this house to secure a clergyman for the place, after a drink all around, the vote taken favored a Methodist. The first services were held in the dining room, and the poker game in the adjoining barroom was interrupted long enough for one of the players to start a hymn.

At Melrose, on the La Crosse stage road, Hugh Douglas Sr., a Scotchman, built the Douglas House in 1852. It was a popular stand for years. Miss Margaret Price procured the names of these taverns on the "Overland" route in Jackson County: Allen's at Pole Grove, George Markley's in Garden Valley, Davis' four miles beyond, and Garwin Green's in Tamarack; south of the town were Fisher's tavern, and, at Pine Hill, that of Dave Robinson.

Clark County

The O'Neill House of Neillsville, which was, until its destruction by fire several years ago, the leading hotel of Clark County, was built in 1858 by James O'Neill, the founder of the city. He was its landlord for a long time. He was born in Lisbon, New York in 1801, and came to Black River Falls in 1839. In 1849

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he located at Neillsville, where he died in 1882. He was a lumberman as well as tavern-keeper and served two terms in the Legislature. Two miles north, at Weston Rapids, an early rival of Neillsville, there was a large tavern; while L. R. Stafford, a notable character, kept one in connection with his store at Staffordville, situated between the two places. Stafford's widow afterward kept the Reddan House, at Neillsville.

Eau Claire County and Northern Wisconsin

Although Eau Claire was credited with only a hundred people in 1855, Adin Randall had faith in the location and built the large Eau Claire House in 1856, and installed A. W. Bosworth as landlord. L. Slingluff and Son, proprietors in 1859, announced that "Stage lines leave this house daily for Menomonie, Hudson, Stillwater, Black River Falls, and Sparta, making sure connections with the Milwaukee & La Crosse R. R. Leave for Alma and North Pepin three times a week."⁴² In 1857 the Niagara House on the West Side was opened by G. A. Buffington, who became later a wealthy lumberman. In 1858 the Chandler House, formerly the Northwestern, was kept by Chauncey Chandler, and the Eau Claire Exchange by John Taylor.

On the Black River Falls route the leading tavern was that of George McLellan, which stood in the S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$, S. 18, T. 25, R. 7, Eau Claire County. Here the stage changed horses. McLellan who was born at Woodstock, New Hampshire, in 1829, conducted the station from 1857 until the discontinuance of the stage in 1870. He was a blacksmith and ran a shop in connection with the house, where he died in 1908. Silkworth's tavern on this road was in S. 2, T. 24, R. 7, Trempealeau County.

The *Daily Independent* of Chippewa Falls published in its issue of January 14, 1914, an interesting article by its president, Mr. T. J. Cunningham, on the early tavern and stage lines of the Chippewa country, which covers that field quite thoroughly.

Menomonie, in Dunn County, was early the scene of lumbering activities. Its first place for the entertainment of strangers was Knapp and Black's (later Knapp, Stout and Company) mill

⁴² Advertisement in *Eau Claire Free Press*, Apr. 23, 1859.

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boarding house, opened June 1, 1846, and long under the management of Lorenzo Bullard and wife. In 1859 Levi Vance built the Vance House, and the following year the Menomonie House was erected by Nathan Eytcheson. He soon sold it to Knapp, Stout and Company, who enlarged it. It was first conducted by the builder, who was succeeded in turn by T. S. Heller, M. E. Jones and William McKahan. It is now a students' boarding house.

In the early fifties Amos Colbourn and, later, Landlord Macauley kept taverns at Dunnville, and on April 21, 1858, Knapp, Stout and Company opened their new Tainter House at that place. At Waneka, in S. 7, T. 27, R. 11, Fowler's tavern which later passed to D. A. Slye was the principal stopping place on the stage road to Eau Claire. A few miles to the east stood D. B. Fuller's tavern. Near the mouth of Elk Creek Charles Bolles kept a stopping place, and at Fall City, in S. 30, T. 27, R. 11, Mr. Morton kept one as early as 1855. In July, 1866, Burbank and Company secured the stage contract between St. Paul and Eau Claire, which had previously been held by Woodbreek and Price of Black River Falls.⁴³ In the same year the steamer "Pete Wilson" made daily trips from Reed's Landing to Dunnville, connecting there with stages to Menomonie.

Pepin and Pierce Counties⁴⁴

Before the introduction of light draft steamboats on the affluents of the upper Mississippi, North Pepin, being the nearest shipping point, was the gateway to the Red Cedar and Chippewa hinterland. During this brief period North Pepin was a busy place and its taverns flourished. In 1858 C. H. Granger conducted the Granger House, later known as the Chippewa, and B. T. Hastings, the Lake House. In the same year, G. B. Rickard, afterward of Stockholm, was landlord of the North Pepin House. Here also was the stage office of the North Pepin and Chippewa Falls Stage Company. The Fountain House at Stockholm, on the riverside stage road to Hudson, was kept in 1858

⁴³ Dunn County News, July 7, 1866.

⁴⁴ The facts concerning the taverns of Pepin County have been gleaned from the files of the *Pepin Independent* for 1858 and 1859.

The Taverns and Stages of Early Wisconsin

by J. H. Alcott. In 1859 James H. Carlton was proprietor of the Garden City House, Frankfort, half way between Dunnville and Pepin. At Durand the popularity of Prindle's Little Inn continued into railroad days.

Prescott, Pierce County, was a bustling town in the late fifties, with a number of taverns. In 1858 J. C. Hyatt kept the Hyatt House on the levee; J. Bloom, the Prescott House on Orange street; and O. P. Barnard, the American Hotel near the public square. The Lake House, near the ferry landing, was conducted by P. Bott in 1859. In the same year H. H. Byington ran the Greenwood House, River Falls, his rates being \$1 per day, or \$3.50 per week.⁴⁵

St. Croix County

Hudson, on the picturesque St. Croix, enjoyed one of its booms in the middle of the last century. James A. Andrews, retired, who came to Hudson in 1853, has furnished the following data about its hostelries of that period. Although taverns were not regarded as first class risks, especially after their patronage had declined, nevertheless it is remarkable that the early hotels of Hudson all met destruction by fire.

The Hudson House was kept in 1853 by Curtis Bellows. On his death he was succeeded in 1855 by H. A. Bass. The hotel was burned in 1866. Curtis Simonds presided at the American House in 1853. After his death, in 1855, Jim Munson ran it. It was destroyed by fire before the Civil War. The Coit House, near the steamboat landing, was the stage house under Daniel Coit as well as during the management of his successor, Ralph Taylor, who changed the name to the Taylor House. It was burned in the fall of 1866. Charles H. Lewis, who conducted the Lewis House, was followed by E. B. Livingston in 1855. This hotel was burned on July 4, 1858. The Revere House met the same fate ten years later. In 1854 Daniel Anderson, afterward landlord of the City Hotel, kept a tavern to which he gave his own name. It was patronized by lawyers and other prominent people. It fell a prey to fire on April 26, 1855.

⁴⁵ Advertisement in *Prescott Transcript*, 1858-59.

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The Hoyt House, built in 1856 by Capt. Miles H. Van Meter, was conducted by him until 1860. It was headquarters for the Lake St. Croix & Superior Railroad promoters, and the formal beginning of grading was the occasion for a grand celebration at the Hoyt House at which "joy and juice were unconfined". After Van Meter, Moses Noyes conducted the house until it was consumed by the great fire of May 19, 1866. John Mann, a successful grain dealer, built the City Hotel in 1856 and ran it for a few years. In 1859 John C. Henning was in charge, but its most noted landlord was Frank Catlin. He was jolly, full of stories, and well liked, but he would forsake desk and guests any time at the call of the elusive brook trout. After Catlin came Anderson, and then Boyden. The City Hotel also passed out of existence in the big fire of 1866.

According to Attorney S. J. Bradford of Hudson, the first tavern east of Hudson on the stage road to Menomonie, was Marsh Tucker's Inn, in the center of S. 18, T. 28, R. 17, W. It afterward became the Britton House, belonging to Charles Britton. The next place was Baker's (Becker's) tavern, later known as Shaesby's (John), at the northeast corner of S. 24, T. 28, N., R. 24, W. Then came Hinman's tavern at Brookville, in S. 24, T. 28, N., R. 16, W. Later changes are recorded by the editor of the *Dunn County News*, who in the spring of 1866 made the trip from Menomonie westward. The stage stopped for supper and a change of horses at the Pioneer Hotel, Brookville, the proprietor of which was John Galhart. It arrived at William's Station about midnight, and from thence proceeded to Hudson.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ *Dunn County News*, June 2, 1866.

The foregoing survey of the taverns and stage routes of Wisconsin, while not as comprehensive as might be desired, will nevertheless show the general distribution of the former and the principal courses of the latter. Although the author has been able to use but a fraction of the material gathered by him, and to repeat comparatively few of the biographies and anecdotes of landlords in his possession, he yet hopes that his purpose in writing this paper will be realized, and that the tavern and its keeper will become recognized as potent factors in the development of early Wisconsin. He is under obligations to hundreds of persons for information kindly given, and thanks them one and all; but he is especially grateful to the following men and women, not mentioned heretofore, for material and assistance: The Old Settlers Club,

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Milwaukee; F. S. Lyman, Kenosha; Mrs. H. B. Edwards, Eagle; Miss Ida Ela, Rochester; Mrs. Edward Jones, Fort Atkinson; M. P. Rindlaub, Platteville; E. Malone, Waterford; Aloys Grimm, Cassville; Nicholas Becker, Saukville; Maj. Julius Schlaich, Plymouth; Judge Emil Baensch, Manitowoc; W. A. Van Brunt, Horicon; W. W. Bartlett, Eau Claire; Dr. E. D. Pierce, Trempealeau; Charles R. Benton, La Crosse; H. W. Barney, Necedah; Fred Klaus Jr., Winneconne; Ernest Greverus and Horace Davis, Berlin; Hon. John Luchsinger, Monroe; and H. E. Knapp, Menomonie.

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The Labor Movement in Wisconsin During the Civil War¹

By Frederick Merk

The eighty thousand "Boys in Blue" sent by Wisconsin to Southern battle-fields during the Civil War, constituted but one of the armies that the State consecrated to the preservation of the Union.² At home another army toiled in field and workshop, rendering less heroic, but not less important services to the imperiled cause of the national government. The men and women who made up this army of peace, stimulated by much the same spirit that moved the soldiers at the front, wrought with ever increasing productiveness to supply the food and equipment that maintained the Federal armies. The material development of the State went on during the war, almost as if no gigantic contest were being fought.

Wisconsin was still overwhelmingly agricultural, with five-sixths of her 800,000 inhabitants gaining their livelihood by tillage of the soil. Milwaukee was the only city in the State that could boast a population of more than 10,000, and even Milwau-

¹ I am under deep obligation to Prof. John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin, whose lectures on the American labor movement from 1860 to 1893 furnished the national background for this study; also to Mr. Selig Perlmann of the Federal Industrial Commission for kind permission to use material relating to the national labor movement during the Civil War, prepared by him while research assistant of Professor Commons.

² Wisconsin is credited with 91,379 enlistments, of which, however, approximately 10,000 were re-enlistments, leaving the total number of men sent to the front by the State about 80,000.

Labor Movement During the Civil War

kee was more of a trading than an industrial center.³ In a community thus simply organized the labor problem produced by the war was solved with less difficulty than in the highly complex and inelastic manufacturing communities of the East. Yet even in Wisconsin the changes wrought by the Civil War, and the readjustments that followed, gave rise to a distinct class-conscious movement of industrial labor, the first in the history of the State.

The close of the year 1860 found the industries of Wisconsin just recovering from the disastrous panic of 1857. An extraordinary wheat crop, the greatest ever raised in the State, had just been harvested, and under its stimulus every interest was springing into new life. But war descended upon the nation, followed by the collapse of Wisconsin's financial system, and once more industry was paralyzed. Not until early in 1863 when the Greenback inflation first made itself felt in rising prices, and the maintenance of huge Union armies brought increased employment to Northern workshops and mills, was the black cloud of industrial depression again lifted.

Partly as a result of hard times, there was no unusual scarcity of industrial labor in the State during the first two and a half years of the war. The drain of men into the army was comparatively slow, not more than 30,000 being absent in military service at the close of 1863. Of these, moreover, approximately 21,000 were at the time of their enlistment, mere youths of twenty-one years or under,⁴ and the absence of such of them as came from the cities, where they had not yet fitted themselves into the industrial life of their communities, was not likely to be seriously felt.⁵ Whatever lack of labor was produced by enlistments

³ The population of Milwaukee in 1861 was approximately 50,000.

⁴ On Nov. 1, 1863, the number of troops who had enlisted from Wisconsin was 41,775 of whom 24,812 were still in the service. In approximating 30,000 as the number of absentees from the State, I have included deaths, desertions, and missing. It is usually estimated that about five-sevenths of the Union soldiers at the time of their enlistment were twenty-one years of age or under.

⁵ The enlistment of boys was a more embarrassing matter on the farms than it was in the cities, for the period of apprenticeship begins early, and at eighteen or nineteen the boy has already become an im-

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was abundantly compensated for by the same factors that came to the rescue of the farmers. There was some complaint, it is true, during 1863, of lack of labor for railroad construction and for logging operations in the northern lumber camps, but these were exceptional and may be readily explained by the irregularity and uncertainty of the wages paid, the hardness of the fare, and the seasonal character of the employment.⁶

As a corollary of this comparative sufficiency of labor, the industrial workers of the State shared but little in the prosperity that followed 1863. While prices were rising by leaps and bounds, wages advanced with but a laggard step. At the end of 1863 the wholesale price of flour in Milwaukee was \$4.80 to \$5.60 per barrel as against \$3.70 to \$3.85 in 1861; potatoes \$.40 to \$.45 per bushel as against \$.25 to \$.30 in 1861; mess pork, \$16.75 to \$17 per barrel as against \$9.50 to \$10 in 1861; butter \$.16 to \$.20 per pound as against \$.06 to \$.08 in 1861; eggs \$.20 to \$.22 per dozen as against \$.08 to \$.10 in 1861. Wages of unskilled labor in the meantime advanced only from \$1 per day for the season of 1861 to \$1.25 for the season of 1863. Prices were rising from 50 to 75 per cent, wages less than half that amount.⁷ Well might the editor of the *La Crosse Democrat* declare near the close of 1863, "Mechanics and day laborers, the only classes who are seriously affected by the war, have need to exercise close economy and the nicest calculations."⁸

The years 1864 and 1865 witnessed some slight improvement

portant factor in the life of the farm. The city mechanic becomes a skilled workman at a much later age.

⁶In August, 1863, the contractors for the Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad were obliged to send to Canada in order to secure a full supply of labor. The road paid its laborers in the autumn of 1863 \$1.37½ per day, but in scrip that was not returnable until the next summer, and it had to be exchanged by the laborers, at a large discount.

⁷These are the wholesale prices. The records of retail prices are not sufficiently complete for purposes of comparison. Statistics are from the Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce *Reports* and daily market quotations in the Milwaukee press. The Western laborer was relatively better off than his brother in the East, for while the wages of both were about the same, the price of food in the West was substantially lower. The advantage is to be accounted for by the closer proximity of the Western laborer to free lands.

⁸*La Crosse Democrat*, Oct. 13, 1863.

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in the situation. During 1864 Lincoln's calls for troops followed each other with startling rapidity. Wisconsin sent to the front during the last year and a half of the war as large a number of soldiers as during the previous two and a half years. The expanding industries of the State at the same time were demanding more workmen, and from every side rose the complaint of the scarcity of labor. Wages mounted rapidly, from \$1.25 per day for unskilled labor in the early spring of 1864 to \$1.75 per day in the fall, and on a number of railroad enterprises to \$2 per day. Prices in the meantime were soaring. At the end of 1864 flour sold at wholesale at \$7.75 to \$8.25 per barrel; potatoes at \$.60 to \$.65 per bushel; mess pork at \$37 per barrel; butter at \$.32 to \$.40 per pound; and eggs at \$.32 to \$.33 per dozen. The advance of wages was again less than the advance of prices, but the rate of loss had been checked.⁹

During the spring of 1865, when it became evident that peace was near at hand, prices rapidly declined, reaching their lowest point in midsummer. Wages in the meantime remained stationary and the war closed with labor in a better position than it had enjoyed for several years. It has been estimated for the North as a whole that during the war prices advanced approximately 100 per cent, while wages rose only 50 to 60 per cent.¹⁰ In Wisconsin labor fared somewhat better, wages having advanced during the war from 60 to 75 per cent. No doubt the proximity of free land, to which labor could readily escape when it felt itself too sorely oppressed, had much to do with this hap-

* Wholesale prices during the month of July varied as follows:

	Flour per bbl.	Potatoes per bu.	Mess Pork per bbl.	Butter per lb.	Eggs per doz.
July, 1861...	\$3.50-\$4.15	\$0.15-\$0.25	.....	\$0.06-\$0.08	\$0.06-\$0.08
July, 1863...	\$4.37-\$5.75	\$0.45-\$0.60	\$12.00-\$13.00	\$0.10-\$0.15	\$0.09-\$0.12½
July, 1864...	\$9.00-\$10.00	\$0.40-\$0.75	\$40.00-\$42.00	\$0.25-\$0.33	\$0.12-\$0.16
July, 1865...	\$5.00-\$6.25	\$0.25-\$0.60	\$30.00-\$32.00	\$0.10-\$0.21	\$0.15-\$0.20

¹⁰ E. D. Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North During the Civil War* (New York, 1910), chap. 7. I have made liberal use of this valuable work.

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py fortune. However, in the West as well as the East, labor lost in real wages, a misfortune offset only by a somewhat larger opportunity for employment. The fruits of prosperity had passed to the merchant jobbers, who piled up enormous fortunes, the employers, who had enjoyed the benefits of a high war tariff, and the farmers, who had realized upon bountiful crops the unusual prices that the war brought.¹¹

The war closed in April, 1865, and before the end of the year nearly all of Wisconsin's soldier boys, 39,865 in number, were back in the State, seeking the places which for several years had been doing without them. At the same time the return of peace swelled to unusual proportions the stream of immigration pouring into the State. It seemed for a brief space that Wisconsin would be swamped by the sudden deluge of labor power; that unemployment and depression would follow, as in fact they did follow in the industrial centers of the East. Not so however. To Wisconsin's rescue came again the superior elasticity of agricultural organization. Thirty-five thousand of the returning veterans came during the rush of the harvest, and were absorbed with entire ease. Indeed, astonishing as it may seem, the demand of the State for laborers was not even completely satisfied. From the newly settled portions of northern Wisconsin complaints still arose at the close of 1865 of the scarcity of help. On Jan. 11, 1866, Governor Fairchild, speaking broadly for the country as a whole, though his observations were limited to the Northwest, and were correct only for that section, declared, "A million of men have returned from the war, have disbanded in our midst and resumed their former occupations, and yet from all sides we hear the surest of all signs of national prosperity, complaints of the scarcity of labor."¹²

The unequal advance of wages and prices during the war, to which unskilled labor could offer but feeble resistance, led skilled

¹¹ J. R. Commons, *History of the American Labor Movement*, Ms.

¹² "Annual Message," 1866, 1. In the Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce *Report* for the year ending 1865 it was noted "Our own city in particular has continued steadily progressing in commerce, manufactures and population." For newspaper complaints of labor scarcity in the autumn of 1865, see *Wisconsin Farmer*, 1865, p. 338; *Shawano Journal*, Oct. 12, Oct. 26, 1865; *Wisconsin State Journal*, Nov. 7, 1865.

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labor for the first time in the history of the State to organize generally into trade unions.¹³ The movement found expression chiefly in Milwaukee, where the largest number of wage-earners were concentrated. Here during the troubled years between 1863 and 1865 the bricklayers and masons, carpenters and joiners, machinists and blacksmiths, iron moulders, custom tailors, and sailors, formed protective organizations, while the ship carpenters and caulkers, organized in 1861, the printers, and the cigarmakers, organized before the war, discarded their former peaceful activities, and adopted more vigorous tactics.¹⁴

Strikes, hitherto almost unknown in the State, now became a common mode of forcing up wages. The successful organization of a trade union was usually the signal for a strike shortly after. Ordinarily these labor contests, recorded only in the vague recollections of the participants, were in themselves insignificant, involving but a single shop or the crew of a single ship, yet altogether they offer an indication of the social unrest that the high prices of the war had produced.¹⁵ A fair proportion of the total number were either wholly or partially successful, for capital was reaping profits so large that it could better afford to

¹³ Some scattering trade unions had been organized prior to the war, among them the Milwaukee Typographical Union No. 23, in 1852 or 1853, the Madison Typographical Union No. 25 in 1857, the Milwaukee Cigarmakers Union No. 25, in 1860, and the Milwaukee German Custom Tailors Union in 1860. These were, however, during their early existence more social than militant in character.

¹⁴ Other trade unions organized in the State during the years from 1863 to 1865 were the Blacksmiths and Machinists' at Watertown, the Moulders' in Racine, the Carpenters and Joiners' in Madison, the Custom Shoemakers' in La Crosse, Madison, and Portage, the Custom Tailors' in Madison, and local divisions of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers at Racine and Portage. No doubt many others were organized in various parts of the State, of which, however, no record seems to have been preserved. The labor movement in Wisconsin during this period has been almost entirely ignored in contemporary records. A large portion of the data presented in this chapter has been gleaned from personal interviews with men who were active in the movement.

¹⁵ Of sufficient importance during 1864 and 1865 to receive newspaper mention were the strikes for higher wages of the printers, bricklayers and masons, iron moulders, and sailors in Milwaukee, the sawmill operatives in Oshkosh, and the custom shoemakers in La Crosse, Madison, and Portage.

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yield than to fight. Where the employer, however, offered determined resistance, they uniformly failed; it was an axiom that a strike lasting longer than three days was lost. As a whole it is perhaps safe to say that trade unions were too weak and inexperienced in this frontier community to be able materially to affect wages; while skilled labor fared no better during the war, and in many cases actually worse, than unskilled labor.

In addition to the disparity in the advance of wages and prices, labor nursed during this period a number of other grievances. Prominent among these was irregularity of pay,¹⁶ an evil which had grown to some proportions in the State as a result of the hard times following the panic of 1857. It was a typical frontier difficulty, for the frontier is by definition a region of inadequate capital. The railroads were, as might be expected, particularly delinquent, since with them scarcity of capital was chronic. In other industries labor secured deliverance from this evil during the prosperous years of the war, but railroad employees were still fighting it during the decade of the seventies.¹⁷

Similar grievances were store pay and scrip pay, inheritances likewise of a previous period of hard times.¹⁸ The employer who

¹⁶ In 1861 Assemblyman J. L. Fobes introduced into the legislature a bill providing for the collection of wages of labor. The subject aroused considerable interest in Milwaukee, where a mass meeting of mechanics and laborers was held on March 11, 1861, to petition the legislature thus to strengthen the lien law. No action was secured, however.

¹⁷ Early in 1865 the blacksmiths and carpenters in the railroad shops of the Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad, and in 1867 the laborers on the Tomah & St. Croix Railroad were on strike for back pay. As late as 1872 there were numerous strikes for the same reason on railroads under construction in northern Wisconsin. On the Wisconsin Central Railroad near Stevens Point the laborers engaged in a rather serious riot in 1872, tearing up track and seizing a locomotive and twenty-five cars which they proposed to hold until their back pay was turned over to them.

¹⁸ The following from an editorial of Mark M. Pomeroy in the *La Crosse Democrat* of Sept. 8, 1863, offers an indication of the nature of the problem in the smaller towns: "The laborer is worthy of his wages, and he is a foolish man to work if he does not receive them—not in cats, dogs, old wagon tires, and water-melon rinds, but in cash or its full equivalent—is foolish to work and live from week to week on promises made to the ear, but broken to the heart. We hope the day will come when mechanics will altogether refuse to work for anything

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paid his labor in store orders was usually himself interested in some way in the concern upon which the orders were given, and realized thus a profit not only on the production, but also on the consumption of his workmen. The laborers, however, who purchased with store orders, saw in them only another mode of reducing wages, for not only did the storekeeper refuse to sell them such standard commodities as flour and meat, but on all others either gave inferior goods or charged higher prices. The man who "went for his pay with a bag" in every case secured less for his money than his cash-paying neighbor.¹⁹

The amount of store orders which workmen were required to accept in lieu of wages varied with individual trades and employers. The coopers were nearly always paid in cash, for the millers and packers who employed them were in turn able to command cash. In some of the building trades on the other hand, wage-earners received their entire wages in cash only as a special grace on occasions like Thanksgiving, Christmas, and Independence Day.

Scrip pay was a special affliction of railroad labor. The scrip was usually issued payable six months or more after date, and the unfortunate laborer who was under the necessity of immediately converting his wages into cash, could do so only at a large discount. Happily in most trades labor succeeded during the prosperous years which followed 1863, when money was plentiful and profits of employers were large, in shaking off these evils.

The entrance of women into hitherto unoccupied fields gave much concern to organized labor, and in particular to the printers of the State. The printing trade early felt a scarcity of labor, for the members of that craft responded with more than usual zeal to the calls for volunteers.²⁰ Soon after the war began vari-

but cash in hand promptly." M. M. Pomeroy later became a prominent editor and Greenback politician in the State of New York, being at one time an aspirant for the presidential nomination of the Greenback Labor party.

¹⁹ Shrewd buyers sometimes managed to conceal from the storekeeper the fact that they intended to pay in store orders, but the trick did not often succeed.

²⁰ It was estimated in 1865 that the printing offices of the State furnished not less than a regiment of men to the Union cause. In 1864

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ous State exchanges were noticing with favor the increasing employment of women as compositors. Women were admirably suited to enter the occupation, for not only could they quickly become as skillful as men, but they were satisfied with little more than half the wages men demanded. In 1863 Milwaukee Typographical Union No. 23 adopted resolutions protesting against the introduction of female compositors into the office of the Milwaukee *Sentinel*, and when the proprietors of that paper refused to recede, declared a strike. The controversy aroused wide comment over the State, the press unanimously accepting the *Sentinel's* defense that its course was calculated solely to give employment to women left dependent by the war.²¹ The strike was lost, and women continued during the war to occupy a prominent place in the printing offices of the state.

As clerks women invaded a field hitherto left almost exclusively to men. "Within the past few years", declared the Milwaukee *Sentinel* of March 31, 1868, "there has been a decided and strong movement towards the employment of women as clerks in dry goods and fancy stores * * *. The Chicago *Republican* lately said that every young man who sold dry goods, boots, or shoes, hats and caps, etc. behind a counter ought to be ashamed of himself. This is somewhat stronger than we are disposed to put the case; but it is a step in the right direction." In the factories of the State, particularly the woodenware, shingle, and match factories of the Fox River Valley, women likewise found increasing opportunities for employment during the war.

Wages of women were pitifully inadequate, varying during the years of highest prices from \$3 to \$5 per week. Early in 1864 a communication signed "Many Milwaukee Tailoresses"

Milwaukee Typographical Union No. 23 was obliged to disband because of the large number of its members who had enlisted.

²¹ The attitude of the press is well reflected in the following extract from the Dodge County *Citizen* of Jan. 15, 1863, which appeared in the *Sentinel* on the 16th. "A few weeks ago, the Printers' Union (at the *Sentinel*) struck for higher wages, and the employers, like honorable men, promptly complied. But now the Union has 'struck' women—a few women who are nobly bearing the grievances of our national troubles; and the employers, like honorable men, refused to strike the women too."

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appeared in the Milwaukee *Sentinel*, in which these unfortunate sweatshop toilers set their grievances before the public. The complaint closed, "Tailoresses who have worked at their trade for years, and who own first class sewing machines, can only make twelve common vests per week, or twelve pairs of common pants. * * * Their day may commence at 7 A. M., but it can not close at 6 P. M. It must continue on not unfrequently till the 'wee sma' hours. * * * The maximum of a week's earnings then is: for one dozen vests, \$3; for a like number of the ordinary run of winter pants, the same sum—the higher priced pants are only occasionally obtainable, and of these only eight pairs netting \$3 per week can be made by one person. Many of us have made twelve pairs of lined pants this winter for \$2.64.'"²² In Madison the seamstresses faced a similar situation, and found it necessary in the spring of 1864 to organize in order to secure living wages. In 1867 the Milwaukee *Sentinel* estimated that four thousand girls and young women were employed in the various shops and manufacturing establishments of the city, whose wages ranged "from three to twelve dollars a week—the average being probably five dollars. How do they live on such a pittance? * * * Board alone can hardly be had for less than five dollars a week.'"²³

Cheap labor constituted a menace to a number of trades, particularly to the ship carpenters of the lake ports and the Irish deck hands on the Mississippi steamboats. The ship carpenters, whose busy season came during the winter months, when navigation was closed, annually found their trade invaded by a horde of hungry house carpenters, thrown out of employment by the suspension of building operations. The intruders were ready to work for anything they could get, forcing the ship carpenters in self-defense to adopt the most stringent regulations against non-union labor. In the winter of 1861-62 the Milwaukee Society of Carpenters and Caulkers²⁴ fought a long, though unsuc-

²² Milwaukee *Sentinel*, Jan. 16, 1864.

²³ *Ibid.*, Aug. 3, 1867.

²⁴ The Milwaukee Ship Carpenters' and Caulkers' Union was organized in the winter of 1861 as a branch of an organization that seems to have embraced the Great Lakes.

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successful strike against the despised "barn-door joiners";²⁵ and throughout the period of the war the issue of the closed shop was with them a source of constant conflict.

The deck hands on the Mississippi steamboats were, up to the close of the war, almost entirely Irish. Negroes were forbidden to lay hands upon freight, and any effort to employ them was promptly met by throwing the obnoxious blacks overboard. The emancipation of the slaves, however, was the beginning of the end, for it threw upon the market a mass of labor admirably adapted by nature to the irresponsible life of the roustabout. The first evidence of a change on the upper Mississippi occurred in the summer of 1866, when the Northwestern Union Packet Company of La Crosse,²⁶ whose deck hands were striking for higher wages, brought in from Cincinnati 300 to 400 negroes in their places. Thenceforth the substitution of black for white roustabouts was rapid, accompanied by a swift decline in wages, and before 1870 negroes were in almost complete possession of the trade.²⁷

The introduction of machinery seriously affected several trades in the State during the war, though it led to no such direct clashes with labor as occurred in the East. The shoemakers were hardest hit. A series of inventions, stimulated by the war and the huge demands of the Federal government for shoes for its armies, transformed the industry within a period of ten or fifteen years, substituting machinery for the old time skill of the journeyman.²⁸ By the end of the war the "Ancient and Hon-

²⁵ The strike held out for over a month, an unusual duration for a labor contest at this time.

²⁶ The Northwestern Union Packet Company controlled the steam packet business on the upper Mississippi in 1866.

²⁷ In the Milwaukee Coopers' strike of 1872 the millers were reported to be contemplating bringing in Chinese strike breakers. It is doubtful, however, whether the plan was ever seriously considered.

²⁸ The inventions which seriously affected the shoemakers began with the introduction of the power pegging machine at Lynn and Philadelphia in 1857. In 1862 the McKay sole sewing machine was invented, which in one hour accomplished the work of a journeyman in eighty, and following that came such a flood of others as induced the Massachusetts commissioner of labor in 1871 to remark that invention seemed to be centering about the shoemaking industry. See *The Knights of St. Crispin, 1867-1874*, University of Wisconsin, *Bulletin* No. 355 (Madison, 1910).

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orable Myserie of Cordwainers" was well on its way to the factory system.²⁹ The Milwaukee *Sentinel* of April 15, 1869, reports an interview with the foreman of Bradley & Metcalf's boot and shoe manufacturing establishment, already at that time one of the largest in the Northwest, which illustrates the changes going on. "The simple fact proved to be that the division of labor—one single and simple operation being assigned to each class of workmen—and the introduction of machinery, had enabled the manufacturers to substitute unskilled for skilled labor. Mr. Shaw remarked that he could take an unskilled laborer from the street and in two days' time teach him to do some portions of the work as well as a man who had spent years in learning the shoemaker's trade. And he added further that of the 450 men now employed in the establishment, perhaps not more than *ten* were sufficiently skilled to have been of any service ten or fifteen years ago." To meet this unhappy plight, and more particularly to protect the vestiges of skill that machinery still left them from the encroachments of "green hands", there was initiated in 1867 what was destined to become the greatest labor organization known up to this time to the American labor movement.

The association of the Knights of St. Crispin was born in the spring of 1867 in the metropolis of Wisconsin. Thither had come at the close of the Civil War Newell Daniels, an intelligent Massachusetts boot-treer, who, appreciating the condition of his trade, had in fact planned before his removal to the West to organize a national union of boot-treers. Early in 1867 he succeeded in interesting six of his fellow craftsmen in a new plan, to organize not only the boot-treers, but all the workers of the

²⁹ An interesting transition in the evolution of the factory system in the boot and shoe industry was represented in Milwaukee during the later sixties by an institution familiarly known as "Bradley's Barn". To this frame building, located in the Third Ward, approximately one hundred of Bradley & Metcalf's workmen brought and "worked up" each week the materials handed out to them at the central warehouse. They owned their own simple tools and devices, and paid monthly a stipulated rent for the privilege of a working place. A similar institution in which the employees of both Bradley, Metcalf & Atkins and Steele & White, were at work, was said to have been located near Fourth and Clybourne streets.

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boot and shoe industry into a great national industrial union. A constitution and a ritual were drafted; one of the charter members, F. W. Wallace, proposed for the title of the organization the picturesque "Knights of St. Crispin", in honor of the shoemakers' patron saint, and on March 1, 1867, the order was launched. Daniels induced the German Custom Shoemakers' Union of Milwaukee to adopt his plan and join the order as Lodge No. 2, after which, with Milwaukee as a base he began his invasion of the shoemaking centers of the East.³⁰ His success was almost instantaneous. The form of organization well suited the needs of the industry; its cardinal principle, refusal to teach green hands, was recognized as the only salvation of the craft,³¹ and before the end of the decade its membership had jumped to approximately 50,000. In Wisconsin by the end of 1870, eleven new lodges had been organized, at Racine, Waukesha, Janesville, Kenosha, Watertown, Fond du Lac, Green Bay, Sheboygan, La-Crosse, Portage, and Oshkosh.³²

The decline of the organization was as sudden as its rise. Its strikes, which at first were uniformly successful, after 1871 met with a number of crushing defeats, and by the end of 1872 the order was on the verge of dissolution. The only Wisconsin lodge that still sent a delegate to the national convention in that year was the original Lodge No. 1, and even this was obliged to disband during the panic of 1873.

In the coopering industry in Wisconsin machine-made staves for flour barrels first came into general use during the years just preceding the war. With their introduction the most difficult

³⁰ The German Custom Shoemakers' Union appears to have been organized some time after the close of the war. The custom shoemakers in Milwaukee were almost all German, the factory workers who constituted Lodge No. 1 were predominantly Irish. The data relating to the beginnings of the order I have secured from Daniels' own account in the *Monthly Journal of the K. O. S. C.*, January, 1873. For a detailed account of the later history of the Knights of St. Crispin, see University of Wisconsin, *Bulletin* No. 355.

³¹ It was hoped that by controlling the skilled operations which machinery had not yet displaced, the members of the craft might still retain possession of the industry.

³² Of these, however, four (at Waukesha, Kenosha, Sheboygan, and Oshkosh) had by the end of 1872 already been disbanded.

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and skilled portion of the slack barrel cooper's art was displaced, and there remained to the trade only the comparatively simple task of "setting up". The innovation appears not to have been resisted, however, by the coopers of Wisconsin, though indirectly it led to much trouble. The slack barrel cooper's trade had at its best been a highly seasonal occupation, for barrels were too bulky to be stored, and flour, the one product that made use of slack barrels, was shipped only during a few months in the spring and fall of the year.³³ Machinery greatly accentuated the evil, for now the preparation of the stock was wholly removed from the trade. The industry became a succession of short periods of rush and long periods of idleness. Each rush was the signal for a strike for increased wages, the Milwaukee coopers succeeding at one time during the later sixties in forcing their piecework rate as high as twenty-five cents per barrel. The moment the rush was over the millers cut rates to their former level, often as low as seven or eight cents.³⁴ The cooper trade in Milwaukee, where flour milling centered, became during the period of the later sixties and early seventies, the most unstable and turbulent in the city.³⁵

³³ Before the war millers in Milwaukee generally bought their barrels from small coopering establishments scattered over the city. However, the high war taxes on the sale of industrial products (in the case of flour barrels this added three per cent to purchase price), led most of the Milwaukee millers to establish cooper shops as departments of their business. Organization of labor in these larger shops was more readily accomplished than had previously been possible.

³⁴ In 1868 after an unsuccessful strike of the slack barrel coopers to increase their piecework rates from \$.15 and \$.20 for flat and round hooped barrels respectively, to \$.20 and \$.25, a number of the millers agreed to a contract system by which the coopers should be given employment the year round at \$.12½ per barrel. The contract proved unsatisfactory to both parties, the millers finding it almost impossible to secure storage room for the barrels made during the slack season, and the coopers revolting at the low prices when the rush season approached. I have been told that a similar plan was tried previously, and again after 1868, but was never entirely successful.

³⁵ The first trade union of slack barrel coopers permanent enough to be termed such was organized in Milwaukee in 1867. During the succeeding three years it led a somewhat precarious existence, the men striking frequently and not always with success. Late in 1870 or early

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Advancing prices led, as we have seen, on the one hand to organized efforts to force up wages, on the other to coöperative enterprises to reduce the cost of living. In the East, where trade unionism was vigorous, the movement toward distributive coöperation was marked; in Wisconsin it was insignificant. In Milwaukee Joseph Bennett, an eloquent English member of the Milwaukee Machinists and Blacksmiths' Union, who was familiar with the successful Rochdale system in his mother country, preached the principles of coöperation to his fellow craftsmen so successfully that in 1865 the Union opened a coöperative grocery store, which aroused much favorable interest. It was conducted on too small a scale, however, to succeed, refusing to make deliveries, and opening only evenings, when the committee of the union could take charge. After six months the members tired of the experiment and it was abandoned.³⁶

Productive coöperation was frequently tried in the State, both during and after the period of rapidly rising prices.³⁷ The first attempt came early in 1862, when nine members of the Ship Carpenters and Caulkers' Union of Milwaukee, disheartened by the constant bickering of their organization over the question of non-union labor, withdrew during the strike of 1861-62, and formed a coöperative shipbuilding association under the title Allan, McClellan & Company. Beginning with limited capi-

in 1871 it joined the International Coopers' Union (organized May 6, 1870) as No. 1 Wisconsin. In 1872, after a prolonged strike, which ended disastrously, it disbanded, but was reorganized in June of the next year. Five other coopers' unions were organized in Wisconsin during 1871, at Watertown, Janesville, Appleton, Racine, and the tight barrel coopers of Milwaukee.

³⁶ The enterprising Bay View Lodge of the Sons of Vulcan, organized in 1869, made provision in its act of incorporation (1871) for a coöperative store, but I have found no evidence that such a store was actually undertaken.

³⁷ In the East productive coöperation as a movement came at the close of the war. It represented the effort of organized labor to check falling wages and unemployment. In Wisconsin the movement did not attain importance until near the close of the decade, for hard times did not reach the State until that time. The Milwaukee instances which occurred during the war may be regarded as exceptions to the general rule that productive coöperation is a movement accompanying falling wages and unemployment.

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tal, they contented themselves at first with jobs of repairing, applying only the days when such work was not to be had to the construction of a new ship. They prospered from the beginning, but as was so often the case with successful coöperative enterprises at that time, the more energetic among them bought out the others, and thereafter conducted the business on a private basis.³⁸ The Union in the meantime was nearly wrecked, for the coöperators who had withdrawn were the best workmen and most intelligent leaders in the organization.

Early in 1863 the printers of the Milwaukee *Sentinel* who were striking against the employment of women as compositors, attempted, when they realized that the strike was about to fail, to establish a paper of their own.³⁹ Their capital, however, was insufficient, a difficulty that spelled defeat for many a hurriedly launched coöperative enterprise, and after a struggle of seventeen days, they were forced to suspend.⁴⁰

Productive coöperation was stimulated toward the close of the decade by a temporary depression of business in the State. In Milwaukee two attempts were made, one by the journeymen cigarmakers, the other by the journeymen cabinet-makers of the city. That of the cigarmakers, originating in a strike, was abandoned after a year and a half of fair progress, because of mutual misunderstanding among the members.⁴¹ That of the cabinet-makers was more successful. The twelve members got on well together, they were wise in drawing to their aid as president and treasurer a well-known business man of Milwaukee, and when after two years they decided to sell out, they realized twice the amount of their original investment.⁴²

³⁸ The present Milwaukee Dry Dock Company on Jones Island is the successor of Allan, McClellan & Co.

³⁹ Three of the early issues of this interesting paper (the Milwaukee *Daily Union*) are in the possession of George Richardson of Milwaukee, one of the leaders in the enterprise, to whom I am indebted for courteous assistance.

⁴⁰ The Iron Moulders' Union in Milwaukee at the close of the war was much interested in the discussion of productive coöperation, but nothing definite was attempted.

⁴¹ The moving spirit in this Coöperative Cigar Manufacturing Company was Mr. Henry Lecher, who is still a resident of Milwaukee, and to whom I am indebted for courteous assistance.

⁴² This coöperative company, known as the Milwaukee Furniture

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In 1869 twenty-one German Knights of St. Crispin in Milwaukee became infected with the wave of enthusiasm for coöperation which was sweeping over the national order, and organized the Milwaukee Boot and Shoe Manufacturing Association. They began with high hopes of success, for they had gathered sufficient capital to be able to purchase a complete set of machinery,⁴³ and they were the most skilled workers in their craft. They failed, however, after a discouraging struggle of two and a half years. Lack of competent management and a hopeless attempt to compete with factory work when custom orders failed, were responsible for their defeat.⁴⁴

On the whole it may be said of productive coöperation in Wisconsin that it proved a failure. Originating usually in a strike,⁴⁵ organization was hurried, due regard was not paid to the important matter of selecting members who were both skillful and compatible, and above all capital was insufficient and management usually incompetent. When success was attained, productive coöperation failed nevertheless in the sense that it soon ceased to be coöperative. Whether failure or success followed, it always injured the trade union from which the movement

Manufacturing Association, occupied itself chiefly in the manufacture of sashes, doors, and blinds. Its first president was William Frankfurth, a prominent hardware merchant of the city. The company to which it sold out professed also to be coöperative, but was not.

⁴³ Stock was limited to \$75,000 at \$50 per share. The association was reported to have started out with \$15,000, but this was an exaggeration.

⁴⁴ Other instances of coöperation in Milwaukee during this period were the Carpenters and Joiners' Building Association, incorporated in 1866, the Badger State Building Association, and the Carpenters and Housebuilders' Coöperative Company incorporated in 1867. The German Tailors' Union, incorporated in 1871, provided in its articles for coöperation, but I have found no evidence that such was ever attempted.

⁴⁵ Coöperation was in some instances purely a strike measure, a club over the heads of refractory employers. Thus the constitution of the Milwaukee Masons and Bricklayers' Union provided, "In the event a Strike shall be declared, and continue for the space of one week, the Board of Trustees and such additional Members as the Board demands, shall constitute the Board of Building Commissioners, and they shall figure on work, enter into contracts, and furnish bond for the completion of such work as they may obtain."

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sprang, for it drew away the most active and enterprising members of the craft.⁴⁶

The eight-hour philosophy of Ira Steward found many ardent advocates in Wisconsin toward the close of the war. The demand was based not on actual conditions, as was the case in the East, where business depression and the return of the soldiers brought on excessive unemployment, but on speculative abstractions. It was the echo, merely, of a real movement in the great industrial center of the North. In Wisconsin the supporters of the shorter day urged the usual humanitarian considerations; they declared themselves willing to submit to proportionate wage reductions,⁴⁷ confident that the withdrawal of so large a supply of labor power from the market would create a demand that would quickly force wages back to their former level. The opposition held up the danger of state interference in the relations between labor and capital; predicted disastrous results to the infant manufacturing interests of Wisconsin; and declared that agriculture, the predominant interest of the state, would suffer at the instance of a mere handful of city laborers. "If labor could secure ten hours' pay for eight hours' work, it would be an injustice to the great overwhelming mass of agricultural labor, which works longer than eight hours a day, for it would

"Trade unions contemplating coöperation found it desirable, in order to acquire legal standing, to incorporate under the laws of the State. They hoped also to secure thereby protection for their funds against dishonest officers. In the East, employers vigorously resisted attempts of organized labor to secure legal recognition. In Wisconsin capital was quite indifferent, largely, no doubt, because organized labor here was too weak to constitute a menace. In 1866 the Milwaukee Masons and Bricklayers' Union, in 1867 the Madison Masons and Bricklayers' Union, in 1868 the Milwaukee Cigarmakers and Iron Moulders' Unions, in 1869 the Milwaukee Machinists and Blacksmiths' Union, and in 1871 the Milwaukee Tailors' Union and the Bay View Sons of Vulcan, sought and were granted legal recognition.

"In the spring of 1867, before the eight-hour law enacted by the State Legislature went into operation, the Milwaukee Ship Carpenters and Caulkers', the Carpenters and Joiners', and the Machinists and Blacksmiths' Unions adopted resolutions in which they proposed to accept proportionate wage reductions (20 per cent in all these cases). All work over eight hours, however, was to be paid for at the regular over-time rates.

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raise the price of manufactured products which this class consumes.'⁴⁸

As early as 1864 the question was receiving public discussion in Milwaukee. On Sept. 1, 1865, a Labor Reform Association was organized in the city, whose chief object was declared to be agitation for the shorter day. In the November elections of 1865 candidates for the State Legislature in several of the larger cities were bidding for the labor vote on this issue, and though the friends of the shorter day were probably in no case sufficiently numerous to be a decisive factor, we shall see that the succeeding legislature was not entirely hostile to the movement. During 1866 and the early part of 1867 the General Eight Hour League of Wisconsin,⁴⁹ an outgrowth of the Milwaukee Labor Reform Association, spread among the large towns of the State, where it succeeded in winning a limited support for its program.⁵⁰

In 1866 Assemblyman Orton of Milwaukee⁵¹ introduced in the legislature a bill establishing eight hours as a legal day's labor where no contract existed to the contrary, it being permitted, however, by special agreement to increase the hours to a number not exceeding ten. On March 28, 1866, a substitute measure received a majority in the Assembly, only to be reconsidered and defeated on the following day. "The main object of the bill", shrewdly comments the Madison correspondent of the Milwaukee *Sentinel*, "was to afford those Assemblymen who represent town constituencies an opportunity to blow off a little steam on the subject. It is well known in Milwaukee (and perhaps the same was the case in other localities) that two or three members

⁴⁸ Milwaukee *Sentinel*, Jan. 21, 1867.

⁴⁹ Early in 1866 the League was reported to be considering establishing an organ of its own in Milwaukee. In 1867 it attempted to secure incorporation under the State laws, but its bill was defeated in the Senate.

⁵⁰ In the Milwaukee municipal election of April, 1866, the Eight Hour League placed in the field candidates for the common council in six of the nine wards of the city. For mayor it endorsed the Democratic nominee, John T. Tallmadge, who was known to be friendly to the eight-hour day. None of the candidates except Tallmadge were elected.

⁵¹ Charles H. Orton and A. R. R. Butler of the Milwaukee legislative delegation, were reported to have won their seats by the aid of the labor vote.

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were helped into their seats by the omnipotent aid of the Eight-pointed star."⁵²

By the spring of 1867 public interest in the eight-hour question was at its height. In his annual message of that year Governor Fairchild officially called the attention of the legislature to the matter. "To the men of the West," he declared, "most of whom have at some time been laboring men, surely no argument is needed to show that those who create the wealth of the country should be afforded every possible facility for participating in its enjoyment, and that the non-producers should not enjoy all the luxuries of life, while the producers are awarded only its burdens."

In response to his suggestion three bills were introduced in the Assembly by members from Milwaukee and Racine, one of which on April 6, 1867, was enacted into law. It provided that eight hours should constitute a day's work in all manufacturing establishments in the State except where a contract was agreed upon to the contrary, or where a contract was by the week, month, or year. Women, and children under eighteen, were not to be compelled to labor for longer than eight hours in any one day, and children under fourteen were not to be permitted⁵³ to labor for longer than ten hours in any one day. Like most of the State eight-hour laws enacted at that time, this was obviously not a genuine effort to arrive at an eight-hour day. Only so much of it as applied to children under fourteen years of age appears to have been sincere, and even this was never enforced.

The law was received without enthusiasm by the laboring population of the State. Even in Milwaukee, where agitation had centered, interest was so small that the labor leaders who had planned a demonstration for July 4, when it was to go into operation, were obliged to abandon the idea. The machinists and blacksmiths, who had been its most ardent advocates, now resolved to postpone its adoption. E. P. Allis, a well-known

⁵² Milwaukee *Sentinel*, Mar. 31, 1866.

⁵³ Compare "permit" used in this clause with "compel" used in the preceding. The employer who contracted with women or children to labor longer than eight hours per day did not "compel", and therefore did not come within the meaning of the law.

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friend of labor, who in 1867 was rapidly forging to the front as a manufacturer of machinery, offered to permit his men to work eight hours for eight hours' pay, but his offer was declined. Only the ship carpenters and caulkers, of all the trades in Milwaukee, persevered. On July 4 they celebrated the advent of the new law by a procession through the streets of the city, and on the next day, when their employers refused to grant the shorter day, secured it by means of a strike. The reduction of \$.70 per day in their wages, however, soon dampened their enthusiasm, and before the month was over they had returned to ten hours. In summing up the eight-hour movement it may be said that for a time at least it unified the interests of organized labor in the State, though of tangible results it left none.⁵⁴

The temporary industrial depression that struck the East after the close of the war did not reach Wisconsin until three years later.⁵⁵ Once arrived, however, it hung on long after the East had recovered; indeed it was not until the end of 1871 that prosperity returned. During these years of hard times, when strikes failed and unemployment was general,⁵⁶ labor turned

⁵⁴ The Milwaukee Stone Cutters' Union in June, 1869 adopted the eight-hour day, one of the last unions of that craft in the country to do so.

⁵⁵ During 1865, 1866, and 1867 business in Wisconsin was progressing steadily, wages were good, and unemployment was rare. In Milwaukee three trade unions were organized during these years, in addition to those elsewhere mentioned, the Boilermakers', Cabinetmakers', and Stone Cutters'. Of strikes there were four of some importance in Milwaukee, those of the Masons and Bricklayers', the Printers', and the Coopers' Unions.

⁵⁶ I have found record of approximately a dozen strikes in various parts of the State during these years, a majority of which were directed against wage reductions or increase of hours. The *Chicago Working-man's Advocate* of June 11, 1870, comments as follows upon the industrial situation in Milwaukee: "From a correspondent we learn that trade matters in Milwaukee are very dull; a large majority of the mechanics of that city are content with the offer of the bosses. Bricklayers who work up to their knees in water are glad to get \$3.50 per day, while those who are employed on buildings average only \$2.00. The wood-butchers are if possible in a still worse condition, while the plasterers take what's going. Won't some enterprising Milwaukeean contract for a load of coolies, as there is no danger of the mechanics of

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for relief, as did labor in the East, to politics. Early in 1869 there was organized at Black River Falls by the State Executive Committee of the National Labor Union, Wisconsin Labor Union No. 1, an organization that differed widely from any the State had hitherto known. Instead of limiting its membership to a particular trade, it proposed to welcome workers of every employment and condition;⁵⁷ instead of depending upon strikes, it proposed to accomplish its ends by uniting the labor vote at the polls. "By the adoption of the principles embodied in the platform of the N. L. U.," wrote the chairman of the State Executive Committee late in 1869, "more will be effected in the establishment of an equitable standard of wages and a fair distribution of what we earn, reasonable hours, and universal emancipation from the power of Capital and Parties, than can ever be accomplished by trade unions as at present organized. Let us all go to work, and organize all kinds of Labor (no matter what the calling or occupation) into one common Labor Union, without prejudice or jealousy, * * * and then our votes will bring about in due time the final result devoutly to be wished for."⁵⁸ Four months after this Black River Falls Labor Union was organized, it issued a call for a State convention of various labor associations and friends of labor to meet at Watertown on September 30, 1869, there to organize a State Labor Reform Party.

The convention which assembled pursuant to this call held a two days' session at which it adopted a State and a national program embodying the views of the National Labor Congress.⁵⁹ The State policy was declared to be:

1. To blend and assimilate the interests of the different mechanical trades with all branches of industry.

that city objecting to their introduction." In 1872 came a temporary revival of business, accompanied by an epidemic of strikes in every part of the State. At least fifteen occurred in Milwaukee alone, of which those of the coopers, printers, and cigar makers were long and bitterly fought.

⁵⁷ This was the form of organization later adopted by the Knights of Labor. It was well suited to the needs of frontier communities, where there were usually too few mechanics of one trade at work to make possible an organization along trade lines.

⁵⁸ Joseph C. Horey in *Chicago Workingman's Advocate*, Dec. 2, 1869.

⁵⁹ For the program of the National Labor Congress, see Commons, *Hist. of Amer. Labor Movements*. Ms.

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2. To establish a uniform price upon all kinds of labor; equal rights to all who toil, be they man, woman, or child—from the commonest day laborer to the best mechanic; from the private soldier to the general in command.

3. To have the value of all necessary commodities of life produced by labor, measured by the amount of service used in producing them.

4. To have all manufactured articles stamped and marked, how made and the kind of material of which they are made.

5. To establish a healthy, friendly, rational intercourse between the different mechanical trades—farmers and miners, and other producers of raw material, upon principles of common sense and justice.

6. To establish such a system of political and financial laws as will give to all and each the full amount of what is produced by their toil."

With the adoption of this somewhat vague platform the convention adjourned, making no attempt to place in the field any candidates for State office.⁶¹ Apparently it was realized that interest in labor reform was too limited to justify an active campaign. In Milwaukee a number of interested trade unions held a joint meeting to receive and ratify the report of their delegates, and incidentally to organize a City Labor Reform Assembly,⁶² but beyond this the convention appears to have been ignored.

⁶⁰ Watertown *Democrat*, Oct. 7, 1869.

⁶¹ The convention appears to have been dominated by the Milwaukee delegates. All of the officers elected were Milwaukee men Thomas C. Tinker, president, representing the Milwaukee Masons and Bricklayers' Union, August F. Brunnotto, secretary, the Milwaukee Tailors', and Fred Treyser, treasurer, the Milwaukee Typographical Union. Milwaukee was designated as the headquarters of the organization, and Watertown as the place for holding conventions. The date for the next annual convention was set for June 28, 1870, but whether it ever assembled can not be determined from any of the Milwaukee or Watertown papers. In 1872 the organization seems to have elected James N. Ruby, representing Wisconsin Labor Union No. 3 of Oshkosh, as its representative to the Ohio convention of the National Labor Reform Party, but his name does not appear among the list of delegates who were accredited.

⁶² The Milwaukee Labor Reform Assembly (also referred to as City Labor Union) was organized Oct. 8, 1869, the first trade assembly to be organized in the history of the State. At its second meeting, on October 20, it appointed committees to organize the various wards in the city into Labor Reform Leagues. The political reforms demanded by workingmen in Milwaukee were the abolition of the caucus system, and the opening of the polls on election day from eight o'clock in the morning until eight o'clock at night.

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The following year the chairman of the State Executive Committee at Black River Falls, who optimistically estimated the number of members enrolled under the banner of the Labor Reform movement at five thousand, issued a new call for a State nominating convention, to be held at La Crosse on September 24. If such a convention ever met, it was not noticed by the local papers; at all events no ticket of the new party made its appearance. In the Fourth Ward of Milwaukee in 1869, and in Black River Falls in 1872, local labor tickets were placed in the field, but beyond such local manifestations the political efforts of Wisconsin labor at this time appear to have produced no tangible results.

The history of the Wisconsin labor movement during the years of the war and the years immediately following, is thus a record of faint and uncertain beginnings. Wisconsin was still predominantly agricultural; her industrial population was too limited and scattered to permit of effective organization. The story of this first uprising of the wage earning class in the State is interesting chiefly as it reflects the more significant movements that were going on in the larger industrial centers of the North.

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A Semi-Historical Account of the War of the Winnebago and the Foxes¹

By Paul Radin

The following account refers unquestionably to the Fox and Winnebago war of 1730. An excellent and detailed historical account of the same events is given in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*.² A careful comparison of Marin's letter with the Winnebago text given here will show how clearly the Winnebago have, on the whole, remembered the incidents of this war. The account will, at the same time, serve as an excellent example of how, in the course of decades, historical narratives are subjected to strong literary remodeling.³

TEXT OF LEGEND

TOLD BY JASPER BLOWSNAKE, JUNE, 1908

Hotcu'ngera tceg ũaŋkeik'ĩna'negi, ũaŋkei'gra wap'a'kōnōk ũaŋkeik'i'neje. Hanā'teiŋxdji haťā'ginātc hirā'naga waxopi'ni Perez hirege'. Hotcu'ngera ē'cana xete'je, ēsge hotcuŋk higai'reje. ũaŋkei'g wak'i'jura naŋk'a'wares'a'je gĩji Wace'reke ā'nagere

¹ Table of sounds: All vowels have their continental value. A macron indicates length of vowels, and the Greek characters indicate short open vowels. The circumflex indicates long open vowels; ı indicates nasalization; and ˘ that the vowel is excessively short; ' indicates a glottal catch and ˈ aspiration.

The consonants have their English values with the following exceptions: n is a linguo-apical n; t equals ch in church; c equals sh in shin; j equals French j; dj equals j in judge; x equals ch in German Tuch and g is its sonant.

² XVII, 88-100.

³ The author has under preparation a study of the literary aspects of the narrative, entitled "Literary Aspects of North American Mythology."

Fox and Winnebago War

hagâre'jâna ëdja k'irije' Hotcu'ngedja, jëdja hi'rek'djone'gë,
"Hik'i'nubra hanik'â'rahas hak'irina' ë'je giji."

Hotcu'ngenq'gere te agâ'k'inok teije teigiji, Hotcu'ngenq'ka
Wace'rekera hijan'k'ira k'i'neje rohi'riyak'ira hirek'dje ai'reje.
Tani'hura hu'ngenq'ka hik'iruk'djake wani'neje tanihuna'ka.
Wajisge'xdjina hija 'u-inegi tani'hura hu'ngra' hik'iru'k'djone'kë
wani'nega, jësgë hires'â'je. Rohi'ra hijan'k'ira k'i'negë, nohâ'-
xdji hotcu'ngera Wacerek'e'redja hinu'k kônqgire'je, higë
Wacerek'e'ra Hotcu'ngiwi kônqgirâ'naga wik'iruponai'neje.

Hagâre'jâna ûan'kwâ'woce xetë'xdji, Hotcu'ngera hani'nera
Wace'reke wa'u'neje man'q'jugi man'nenq'ka higikcakai'reje
giji. Tcap'ô'sgaga hitcâ'wina wëje, "Djagû'u han'ke' warora'-
giyini'je?" Tcap'ô'sgaga hidjowarâ'naga Wace'rek'e'nak'ka wâ-
warogi'je wëje, "Hotcintci'nigwira witcâsa'kenq'ka hanâ'te
niâ'ciniwina. Rotcu'ngiji raitcâ'wigi, c'u'k'djâ'wina," wigë'gi.
"Ho," ai'reje.

In the early days of their existence, the Winnebago were a
successful people. They all fasted and were blessed by the
spirits. It is for that reason that they were powerful and were
called Hotcu'ngera.⁴

At one time a Fox Indian, whose nation was about to be
destroyed (by its enemies), came to these much feared Winne-
bago and said, "Brothers, I have come to you for aid."

The Winnebago lived on one side of the lake⁵ and the Fox
on the other and (because of the appeal) the former made friends
with the latter, it is said, and the chiefs presented the pipe to one
another. When chiefs exchange pipes with one another a very
sacred bond is established. Thus many Winnebago and Foxes
became friends, and Winnebago men married Fox women, and
Fox men married Winnebago women.

There was once a very famous warrior among the Winnebago,
whose crops were molested by the Foxes. Tcap'ô'sgaga's⁶
wife thereupon said to him, "Why don't you take them (the
marauders) to task?" Then Tcap'ô'sgaga went to the Foxes

⁴ There are two possible interpretations of this name, one being "Great
Fish-people", and the other "Great Voice-people". The former is in all
probability the correct meaning.

⁵ Probably at the junction of Fox River with Lake Winnebago.

⁶ This name means "White Breast".

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and said, "Boys all the water-melons are yours when they are ripe, if you desire to eat them." "All right," they answered.

Hāhe' nubo'hagadjā hainine'gi Tcap'ō'sgaga hitca'wina haini'-xdjinik' hik'i-ā'nāga maŋɣera' gicdjā'higadjā. Tε jigε' 'u-ineje hak'djak'irā'nāga. "Wajɔnoko'nA! Tcap'ō'sgara maŋɣeni'gera xεte'nigera waikca'kcapire'nA. Warugi'ipi nanigā'djā." Tcap'ō'sgaga hidjowairā'nāga warogī'ɣije.

Hāhe tani'hōnA jigε' maŋɣenɔ'k'a hitoke'nik'djega haini'xdjinik gicdjā'hije gadjā. Gā'djuŋga tcowe anā'nte wai-e'-ek hirā'nAje. "Tcap'ō'sgara maŋɣi'nigera mai'sinte hi'naŋke. Roɣi' nicī'ra, Djagū'u niɣi'-aŋke roraɣinirā'djege, wa'u maŋɣinigera mahudjā'-xdji hirē'nA." Tcap'ō'sgaga naji-ā'nāga wēje, "Hahi warua'-giɣik'djē'nA." Hidjō'warā'nāga wageje' Wace'reke ēdja 'u'-naŋk'i, "Djagū maŋɣi'jā jēɣunaŋk'i'wire hihe'ra. Ē'tca mahudjā'-xdji, rawi. Hāhā', hāhe'gi tcako' jigε 'uwi-ā'dje, ūaŋgā'nige waja'nijā yā'rega ha'ucōnū'nA. Tcako' jigε 'uwi-ā'dje," wigε'je, giji.

On the morning after the second night Tcap'ō'sgaga's wife woke up very early and went out to inspect the crops. Again they had been disturbed, so she immediately went back exclaiming, "How terrible! The largest and best of Tcap'ō'sgaga's crops have been damaged. Indeed, you (Tcap'ō'sgaga) should have forbidden them." Then Tcap'ō'sgaga went over and forbade them.

Early in the morning after the third night the old woman again woke up and went to inspect the crops. Again they had damaged almost everything. "The nicest of Tcap'ō'sgaga's crops they have destroyed. He should have forbidden it. Why indeed did you not forbid it? They have utterly destroyed your crops." Then Tcap'ō'sgaga got up and said, "I will go and forbid them." So he went over to the Foxes and said, "Leave my crops alone, I told you. Instead of that you have destroyed them. If again tonight you dare do this, as I'm a man who thinks (of revenge) beware. Dare do it again (and take the consequences)," he said.

Wace'rek'enɔk'a Wacerek'ε'wowuŋk wa'u'naŋk'i'ji wai'reje. "K'ārā, higu'icānA ūaŋkci'k irana'ŋk'ik'i hanā'nte ūaŋkci'giā ūadja'wigadjā," ai'reje.

One of the wicked ones among the Foxes who were doing this

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said, "O pshaw! He acts as though he were the only man (i. e. great warrior) in creation."

Hainigī'ji Tcap'ō'sgaga ē'xdji haini'xdjinik k'ik'ā'wa'ūā'naga man'era' giedja'higadja, je'djunga maisitei hireje. Djā'naga hidji'rutak'i māhudjā'xdji hirā'naga hurā'egε hirasā' wirucārai'reje. Tcap'ō'sgaga wogi'tekce wēje, "Wagixō'nōna waruteō'nā, hahi' waigigoī're." Wagigwahi'regi hadjirā'naga. "Dja'gwa 'uḡk'djōnā'wije?" Tcap'ō'sgaga wē'je, "Wōhai'djakerewi're." Wōhō'nā hidjā' wake'reregi. Tū'djiregi k'igoī'rowε harai'ranaga k'igā'ra, rokō'naxdjidi'je. Ē'gi k'igō'ra rucdjaī'negi, ēgi wēje, "Yak'i'p'ara tek'dje'ra. S'ahū'djaip'ā'regi wasge'ra here'ngigire'nā higūā't'ābadjite'k'djere. Ēgi winuwa'hiḡk'djē'nā hitco'k'ihahi'wira wona'γire rukō'nōnā. Ūḡkcik kerēponai'ja nahi'gigī'renā. Huḡgera kerēponai'ja wagi'q'tek'djē'nā."

The next morning Tcap'ō'sgaga himself got up early and went to inspect his crops, and indeed they had been utterly destroyed. What had been left (from previous depredations) had now been utterly ruined and even the vines had been torn up. Tcap'ō'sgaga felt grieved and said, "Have my attendants go and call my war bundle bearer.⁷ They went and called him and when he (and others) had arrived (they asked) "What are we to do?" Tcap'ō'sgaga said, "Put on the food." Then they prepared the food.⁸ When the food had been cooked they went to invite as the feasters the most important (of the people). When the feasters finished then he said, "I am going on the warpath. At the end of the path, I see my enemy. I am going to have the pleasure of killing the ten men that my grandfathers (the spirits) who are in control of war obtained for me. For ten chiefs I am going."

Higūā'nā teiro'bera hik'i'γā'teirobera herek'ā'ragiji. Waruγā-pra teiro'bera harutei-o't'qbā'naga hak'arat'qbā'naga. Egi waruγā'bera k'arak'i' gigī'reje wadjera hadji' tca'ā'rawije wagixōnarā'canā watco'-ikcu. Hodjica'nā wadjera wati'rehiregā'dja. "Jijiji'ji," airegā'dja. Wadjakōnōgirē'je, watseretci'ja huḡgera hoixdjio'minōgirā'naga hik'ārohoxdjijā'naga hiedjā'ra

⁷ The youths who carry the war bundle on the warpath. They are generally the nephews of the war leaders.

⁸ That is, begin the war bundle or winter feast which is always given before a war party starts.

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tes waihirā'naga, jū'ra nāp'i'nānaga. Tegi ahū'-ireje djihū' wagigī'ranaga k'idjā'nigidjī'bi'regi, aigi wagū'djireje wadjera bos'u'-ineje. Higūā'na majtadjē'hira rokō'nəxdjī hak'ī'rijē gījī teinō'genəgere hana'teiηxdjī wacgahi'ra nuwa'ηgireje.

Near the door he indicated what would be the first stopping place. Then he placed the war bundle across the entrance and jumped over it.⁹ Then he put the war bundle on his back and walked towards his boat, his attendants accompanying him. They had hardly pushed off when they were greeted by a "Here! here! here!" Then they saw a very long boat, filled with chiefs, all of whom were dressed in their best finery; their faces painted blue and medals around their necks.¹⁰ They (the Winnebago) permitted the boat to pass and then when it was exactly alongside of them, they shot the occupants and tipped the boat over. Soon after a strong wind arose and all the people in the village started out to give chase (to the enemy).¹¹

Wace'reke teinəge'dja wai'reje, "K'ārē'sgəxdjī, hungera wahu-djā' wahiranā'guni. Wona'γire hāpca'nā. Tcap'ō'sgaga wogitek hireje ā'nəgra. Wogī'tek'i hisge'xdjī waji'ne 'u-ijerē'nā. Hungera māhū'dja wahi'ranəguni'cgē." Egi wace'reke wō'wəngra wai'reje, "Waja'nīk hiηuhō'-ira niηgi-ā'hi wirudjnanəkgū'nijē."

"Tegi rodjī-agū'irek'dje'je wace'reke ūanənū'nigra." Stok-īnā'naga ha-ewahī'nanəke hungra k'ik'ū'rusgite harai'rega, hanəke ni-ā'p hiranihaningū'ni ai'ranaga.

Egi Hotcunə teinəge'dja Tcap'ō'sgaga 'u'ηginigē teinə'goxənū'nā tcawē'k'djeje. Wace'rek'era nubi'hi minə'giregi, hijā teinə'goxənū'nā higai'regi, te'nak'a niηgiowiwi'sk'i, ēdja teinə'goxənū'nā hereje'. E'je'ē tcaware'k'ārohō'nā ā'nəkē.

The Foxes in their village said, "Say, I believe the chiefs have been killed. This is a time of war. Tcap'ō'sgaga has been angered. When Tcap'ō'sgaga gets very angry he generally does what he threatens. Verily the chiefs must have been killed." Then the bad Foxes said, "Perhaps they are eating the objects we donated."¹²

⁹ It was always customary for the leader to do this.

¹⁰ The boat contained the Fox chiefs who had come to make reparation for the damage inflicted upon Tcap'ō'sgaga's crops.

¹¹ That is, started on a tribal warpath.

¹² That is, the chiefs who went to make peace.

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"The Foxes will not be coming back for some time," (the Winnebago said). (The Foxes) at the same time had gathered together and discussed the fate of the chiefs who had gone to give themselves up (to the Winnebago) and had never returned. "Very likely they are not alive any more," they said.

Tcap'ō'sgaga returned to the Winnebago village after he killed (the chiefs) and then started for the smaller of the two villages in which the Foxes lived. It was at the smaller village that the lake was narrowest. Towards this one he was going he said.

Jige pihī' totcə'maratce. Tcinə'genə'k'a djā'naga wat'e'-k'ip'i'na hanā'tcīxdjī hik'ik'ā'roxoi'reje. Tcinə'goxənū'na tca-wai'reje. Hoxdjanā'nigi harai'negi tcinə'goxənū'nək'a ədja hajse'-retc hak'ikənə'giregi. Hāpdjīngā'dja hanā'ntc hak'ikənə'gireje, tcinə'genə'k'a haikca'hireje. Hāpsgā'xdjīngi djobi'hi wai'neje. Əgi tcinə'goxənū'na hanimiŋgirə'je giji moi'sintci haŋk'i'jā rugā'jerehirani'je. Əgi tcira' wirowa'γidj hireje' hak'ararai'reje.

Hagi'regi wojā'wa roko'nəxdjijje. Wak'dje'wacirā'naga, hahe'-ga hok'ixe're wacines'ā'je k'ik'iricgirā'naga. Djasge wojā'wanagi, jě'sge yaru'zireje, Hotcuŋk tcinə'gera.

He had again planned a war party all these within the village who were likely to show any skill in killing men, prepared themselves for (attacking) the smaller village. They started at dawn, and they reached the smaller village at night and ferried themselves across. By dawn all had crossed and the village was surrounded. As soon as it was broad daylight they gave the war whoop in four different places. Then they rushed on to the small village and destroyed it completely. Then they burnt up the houses and went home.

When they got home everyone was happy. They danced the Victory dance and at night began the Hok'ixe're dance. So happy were the Winnebago.

Əgi tcinə'goxonu t'ehi hirerā', hiја haŋke' t'ehirā'nigi hak-ikənə'genə'k'a. Nijī'nijk minə'k'iji hihā'ginigə'dja tcōk'dji'-teegija'k'iji, iha'benəwā'ūaŋkce, jě'e haŋke' t'ehirā'nigi. Wacereke' tcinə'k hoxe'tera, Hotcuŋk tcinə'gera te agā'k'inə'k nək'i'ji. Ədja hinu'genik' tcōk'dji tcēk haŋke' t'ehirā'naga, ə'dja kereje' wacereke' tcinə'kə'dja wōrak gijje, "Mai'sintc wi'nawina Hotcuŋk wa'u'-inegū'ni yarə'nā. Hotā wia'geni-

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sgē'nā. Gicdǎ'rawire Hotcu'ŋk wa'u'-inēgi tcīra wiro-ā'yintc hirecō'nunā Hotcu'ŋgera totcāi'ŋega."

Although they thought they had killed all in the smaller village, one young girl who was lying on top of a small cliff, near where they had crossed, fasting, had not been killed. Now the Foxes were living also in a large village right across the lake from the Winnebago. To this place the young woman who had not been killed went, and when she got to the big Fox village, she told them the news, namely, "The Winnebago have completely destroyed us, I believe. Some of them (the enemy) I partially recognized. Go and see however whether they were Winnebago, for (if it was they) the lodges will be found burnt to the ground, that being their custom when they go on a warpath."

Wācereke ūaŋgenu'nigera wai'reje hak'iri'regadja waicdǎ'ra wai'reje, "Hotcu'ŋk wa'ū'-inēnā tcīra wiro-ā'yintcire'nā. Hisgē'-xdji huŋk k'ik'ū'rusgite harai'ranihera t'ai'rera." Wik'ā'raperez djina'girenā Wacereke'ra. "Ēgi Hotcu'ŋgenǎk'a woroha'ŋxdji wa'ūaŋgā'nāga haŋke' k'izā' p'īnē." Ge ē'sge Wace'rekera wanake'weje. Wacereke'djega woc'ige nū'nige Hotcu'ŋk'djega haŋk'i'ja t'ehi ruxū'rugenije.

Wace'reke tcinǎ'gera hanā'tcinxdji wa'īnke'reje.

Hotcu'ŋgenǎk'a hotcintci'n p'īni kerepōnai'ja kere'yitok'i aires'ā'gi, jē'sge hianihaireje keni k'ici'cigerani wa'ūanaireje. Hija' watcō'ju-ak'i agū'-iregi wai'reje, "Tcinǎge xē'tera hogiwek'djā'winā, ē'djagi hinu'g hinik'i'cerek'djā'winā," ai'regi gā'dja. Tcinak hoxō'nunā hogiwairegicā'nā ni-ā'birek'dje'nā, ēje watcō'ju-ak'a. "Tcinǎgōxē'tera hogi-ā'wigi hanā'ndjit'e'-k'djōnāwijē hitcō'k'ehahi'wira hīngairē'nā. Jē'gu tcina'goxōnū'nā hogiwek'djā'winā. Totcu'ŋgenǎk'a wagai'reje tē'e'ji tcinǎgōxē'tera wagiwek'djā'winā," higairegi. Totcōwu'ŋgōŋk'a haŋke' u'nije, hicgē' jēgu tcinak hoxē'tera hogi'weje. T'airek'djōnē'ra hipe'rezdi, nūnige Wace'reke tcinǎgōxē'tera tcinǎgip'ai'dja. "Hagi'regi, ēgi nuk'i'kewek'djā'winā." Ēdja rok'ikewe'reje.

Then the older Foxes went and when they returned spies announced, "Yes, they were Winnebago, for the lodges have been burnt down. It is true that the chiefs who had gone to make peace have been killed." Then the Foxes went into mourning for them. "There are many of the Winnebago and we will not be able to fight them," (said the Foxes). Indeed

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the Foxes were afraid. Although a Fox disliked a Winnebago, not one could he kill.

All the Foxes now went into mourning.

Ten Winnebago youths proud of their tatoos had been out (in the woods) before these troubles began. As they were returning they said to the one who was their leader, "Let us go around the large village and court women." "Only if you go past the small village will you escape unharmed," said the leader. "We will go by way of the large village even if all of us are killed by the spirits," they said. "Well, let us go by way of the small village," they said to the war leader. "If you are afraid, as you say, you may go alone by way of the smaller village, we, however, will go by the way of the large village. The leader, however, refused and also went by way of the large village. That they would die, he knew very well, but nevertheless he accompanied them to the edge of the big village. When they got there (they said), "Let us paint ourselves."

Rok'ik'awā'nqk'u tɛdjaɪ'ɲxdjɪ 'ɲaŋgenū'niginɪ'ɲa wa'ɲkɛ'rɛxdjɪ-ā'naga haɣɛphū'ɲɛ wawagɛ'ɲɛ, "Hik'iwā'rera jedjuŋga rak'ɪ-riwiɲɛ? wɪgɛ'ɲɛjɛgɪ. Ėgi 'ūanɔgwɪ'rɛ, wona'ɣirɛ ūaŋkeikra wogɪ'gāra k'arak'una'ɲkɛana. Nɪgwadjɪ'rek'djawi waiyagek-'djɛ'na.

Hidjō'wagike'regadja hiɲa djɪ'ɲɛ hotcintɛɪ'na nɪgō'-irawɪ'na. Gūā'na howinā'ɲɛ. "Toteu'ɲgenɔk'a wɛɲɛ," "Wagixɔnā'winɛ, haɛdjā'winɛ hanā'ndj wa'ike'renɔgra horu-ā'gera wajɪnigek-'djɔnā'winɛ. Hɪŋgigōk'djɔnā'wirɛ, māhi'na wō'niginadjɛ'rā'wigi haŋkɛ' ɔɯwini-ā'djɛ. Māhi'na agɪ'xdjɪ wak'ā'rani mɪnɔgɪ-ā'djɪ," wɪgɛ'ɲɛ. "Hodjɪā," aɪ'rejɛ.

Then they painted themselves and as they were painting themselves an old man in deep mourning appeared and said, "Are you returning from your travels? Stay with us, for our men are giving a feast. I will tell them to come after you."

Then he went away and soon a young man came (and said), "You are invited. Come right away." "Men, you have seen that all are in mourning. Once more, let me tell you something. The feast in which we are now to take part, do not lend your knife to anyone. Hold your knife ready," he told them. "All right," said they.

Tɛɪra hahi-ok'awaɪ'rɛgi tɛɪroɪ'xdjɪxdjɪjɛ ɛdja wagiruk'oirā'naɲa

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ēdja mīnək' hiregī'. Ēgi wagigo'nAgere t'āp djirā'nAgā wēje watcojū'nAk'a wasge'ja howahiregī'djegi ē'dja haratce'. Ēgi jigē' ēdja jigija'natce, wasge nobe'dja ēp'a hiro-ik'ī'rap haminq'k wagigī'reje. Anaga ē'gi Wacereke'ra cago'-ica'nA wak'ī'ju 'u-ineje' Hotcu'ngenək'a ewirā'ruhək' jejē'nugā'canA wasge'nək wawa'u'-ineje.

Wagigō'nək'a ēgi wē'je, "najiηk'djonā're hajuju'k djirehā'nAgā, nāwā djirehā'gi giji. Djirehagi'ji winuwā'hik'djē'nA," ēje. Ēgi t'āpdjirā'nAgā juk'djirehi-ā'nAgā nāwā'djirehi'gi Hotca'-ngenək wanimi'ngireje. Totcu'wungenək'a s'ī'xdji haruko'zera ruc'ā'gireje hidjane'nək'ā'ji māhī'nA honā'tc wawagi'gireje, hīgīā'nA je'e'ji waruko'zirehi'renA. Totcu'wungenək'a rōhā t'ehi-ā'nAgā ē'gi māhī'nA k'awak'ū'nuke ē'sge haruko'zireje. Ē'gi warusgi'djineje ēgi ūangwoi'cgadjera. Kerēpōnā'ja bozaī'reje. Totcu'wungenēka wēje, "Tejē'sge honingī'tagwira k'ibai'-nagiwi-ā'nAgā. Ē'gi hint'ek'djonā'winA."

Ē'gi hotcintci'nA wagwadjirā'nAgā ūangwoicgā'djedja wakere'reje. Ē'dja pēdjicgā'tc wagigī'reje taxū'xu. Djasgeā'wexdjīnā'nagi, jē'sge wagigī'reje. Ē'gi totcuwunək'djē'ga wēje, "Hotcintci'nA hīnuk hīk'ī'cere hiwa'ūadjē'nA," wige'je.

Ē'gi ēdja taxū' t'ewahi'reje; tatce'p wahi'reje te'e'ji jēgīā'nAgā.

Then they entered the lodge and when all were in they (the Foxes) made room for them and they sat down. Then the host rose and spoke and pointed to a place that was nearest him, for the leader. Then toward another place he pointed for the second and thus each one (Winnebago) received a seat. With each Winnebago were placed seven Foxes, making eight in all.

Then the host spoke, "As I rise, I will blow upon my flute and have a song started. I am anxious to have them start a song," he said. Then he rose and blew his flute and as soon as the song was started, the Winnebago were seized. It was a long time before they could seize the war leader, but the others had lent their knives and were consequently seized easily. The war leader killed many but finally his knife broke and he was seized. Then they bound him and prepared the torture. Ten posts they stuck in the ground. Then the war leader said, "I told you of this, but you doubted me. Here we are going to die."

Then the youths came after them and began torturing them.

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They applied firebrands to them. They burnt them in those places where they would suffer most. Then the war leader said, "Well, my boys, we are now courting women."

Thus they burnt them to death and destroyed them utterly.

Wacereke'nə'k'a tci'nə'gidja hok'irā'djera hana'tci'ηxdji taniwā'-wogijū'-ireje tanihū'-ija rok'awairā'naga. Hotcu'ηgera jədjo'-ηk'dje ai'recū'nije. Hanā'nte gip'i'neje, hoc'i'ginake māna-djirā'naga. Hanā'nts hasto'reje, nūnige' gwerē'cgera hanke' wanai'nanije Hotcu'ηgera wawanā'xdjije. Wigiruxū'rute nā-iyā'naga hibojā'p' wanai'neje. Hotcu'ηgera nyowahā'zireje giji. Widje'dja hak'ikonə'gireje hinu'gera, ūan'kei'gera, niηk-'djo'ηgenigra. Widje'dja wowahā'ziānaga. Teira e'wotcirajinā'-naga man'γera' ewaru'tc nājinā'naga. Widje'dja haici'ri tokse'-retei wirap'e'reje jē'dja hire'k'djege.

Hagāre'jona jē'-ija 'ūā'nake hūdja'i'ja haxdja'hi-onaji-ā'naga, "Wā'nə'kce teje'sge niηgiginə'gwira naηxgu'wige. Huwi' nūnige wasagere'rocana hadjiwi'nā. Hāge'dja wayere'ra hiege'rujap hahuhai'rena ūan'keigirū'sgite rujā'p, hahuhai'rena. Hotā'-raninik haranicā'wingi rusgi'tc hanini-aηkerək'djā'wigi."

The Foxes now offered tobacco¹³ to many different tribes, giving them beautifully decorated pipes. They desired to annihilate the Winnebago. All the (different peoples) liked this because they hated the Winnebago. They made their plans carefully but even then they could not defeat (the Winnebago) in battle. They (the Winnebago) always kept on moving back as the others tried to overcome them. The Winnebago were driven into the water. They crossed to an island, taking with them the women and children. Here they lived in lodges and ate the crops as they stayed there. All summer they were besieged on this island, as (the enemy) hoped to destroy them.

One night a man wearing a bear skin robe inside out, said, "This they are going to do to you, we heard. So far only the fleetest have come. Soon the slower ones will come, peeling basswood bark as they go along with which to bind the people. If some are still alive we can then take them home bound."

Tcap'ō'sgaga wogite'kce t'ek'djē'nā, wā'nə'k'a ā'naga. Gu-

¹³ That is, established friendship with them in order to have them unite against the Winnebago.

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djirehī'je boci'pdjirehī'je. Nəwuge'dja minəgā'naga wā'naŋke ə'naga.

Ē'gi hagāre'jəna wai'reje, "K'āyira djā'naga hidjā watohō'tci-āk'i, woik'u'wiŋe. K'aγī'nipəna ru-āguwī'nā. Wawoi'nək'u-igi niŋgitū'cdjaŋk'djā'winā." K'aγirā' nup'ī'wi ūaŋkcikwā'coco xetara' Hotcuŋge'dja watohō'tcinək'ī'ji eje'e watā'wanaŋkca'nā. K'aγī'nək'a hok'ikit'ai'regi, hīja tconi hīt'e't'egi wēje, "Tcinəgi-djai'dja watohō'tcira wotce'xiŋe, djā'djiga hiŋgē'nā. Waja'nija tcexiawai'regi cdjā'naga niəbirek'dje'gi 'ūa'djena hiŋgē'nā. T'e'ji jēgū'nā, woigai'rek'djena." "Hitcak'āro', nicge' jēsge are'nā. Hiege' djadjiga' jēsŋiŋe'nā neniŋgitce'xik'djerā'cana here' yarā'nək wairē'nā."

Tcap'ō'sgaga felt sad (and said), "He will die, the one who said that." Then he shot at him and tumbled him down. The one who had said this, was sitting on top of a tree.

One day (the Foxes) said, "Turn over to us those Menominee who have married into your tribe. We are longing for some Menominee soup. If you give these (men) to us, we will let up on you." The two Menominee among the Winnebago were great warriors and it was for them that (the Foxes) were asking. These Menominee talked to one another and the one who spoke first said, "It is a hard thing to be a son-in-law in a tribe not your own, my father used to say to me. Whenever the members of the tribe are in difficulties, and they wish to save themselves they turn (their attention to the strangers among them)." "Thus it is," (said the other) "but they may sacrifice me." "My friend, I feel the same way about it, just as my father told me. I spoke to you because I thought that you might dread it."

Wawozai'reje haŋke wagirucdjaiŋā'nije.

Ē'gi hagāre'ja K'aγī'ra wagigū'tc djiŋe wai'reje, "Kəni tconi oniki't'ek'djawi'nā," higaireje. K'aγ-ā'k'a hidjā' wana'gixgu-ŋgi wogai'reje, "Hotcu'ŋk'djane haŋke' nādjodjəpī'ja hereni'nā. K'aγī'ra nup'ī'wi Hotcuŋge'dja watchotci-adja'wigi woik'u'-inawi'nā. Ēsge hagāre'ja K'aγī'nipəna tatego'nā. Je ioniŋgi'take wahē'nā. Djasge' ŋak'aracik'djē'cge, c'u'ŋk'djegi waniŋgitā'hcanā."

K'aγī'ra Hotcuŋgerā' k'araci'k djigū'djirera hisgidjā' watohō'tcinək'ī wawogai'regi, jēgu'ŋke k'āracigirā'ni, k'arai'renā.

Then they (the Winnebago) gave the Menominee away, but the Foxes did not let up on them.

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After a while the Menominee came to the aid of the Winnebago but the Foxes said, "Wait a little, let us speak to you first." The Menominee listened and the Foxes told them, "The Winnebago are not to be pitied. There were two Menominee who had married among them and they handed them over to us. In this way we again drank Menominee soup. For this reason am I speaking to you. You may help them now, if you wish to, now that I have told you."

The Menominee had come to help the Winnebago but now that the two Menominee had been handed over to the Foxes they turned back home.

Ē'gi Tcap'ō'sgaga taniō'gijurē'nā. "Ho," wige'nā, "Ya'ū-teak'djē'nā." Ē'gi hāhā'regi hihinōbā'nāga niñohi'pce. Agere'gi hok'ik'djē' watcā'birera widjā' k'i-anāga. Niñā'djiregi widjā'-iñek'i'jā γayā'kce. Agedjā'nāk'a 'ūāhohi'reje. Tcap'ō'sgaga hidjā'nākce ai'reje. "Hā-o," wigai'reje. Ē'gi hahī' a'ū'nije hoyē'beniŋge'dja minōgā'nāga hirā'nākce. Hisgi'djowai'regi wagai'reje, "Ni-osini'nak'ica'nāje," higai'reje. "Hāhā'a," wige'je.

Ēgi hik'ik'ā'roho-ā'nāga waxopi'nixdjiniŋe'dja worā'gereje hidjā'higi horā'kce, "Hi-ā'djenīnā, tcināgiŋa hok'irā'djera djanu-gā'ra hanā'tciŋxdji hiŋstorā'nāga jēdjā' 'u-ik'ārohoi'renā," hige'je. "Niŋk'djainigā'xdji, hai'xiŋi hahik'djē'nā jēguk'ā'rare."

Tcap'ō'sgaga had been offered tobacco. "Well," he said, "I will try it." At night he started out and jumped into the water. Across there were the enemies, so he turned himself into a goose. In the middle of the lake, a lone goose suddenly squawked. Those across shouted, "Tcap'ō'sgaga is over there." "Yes," was the answer. Then he went around to the shallow water and crossed over, and as he sat there bathing some one went by. They said to him, "Are you cooling yourself off with water?" "Yes," he answered.

Then he got himself ready and went to the French and when he arrived among them he said, "Father, different tribes banded together are trying to destroy us." "My child, go home for I will come tomorrow."

Gū'je Tcap'ō'sgaga hāhe'regi k'irigi' tcinā'gidjanā'k'a ē'dja higu'indja 'u'qā'nāga. Ai'gi widjerā' howake'reje. Gīgi' Hō-tcuŋgerā' wawok'ā'rak'irā'kce. "Hā'nigi hiā'djehiwi'ra dji-

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k'djě'nā." Hanā'tc hiatchirě'ra k'arak'djā'p djina'k hirě'nā. Ē'gi waxopi'nixdjī'nigra p'ětewā'tc ni-ēdjerě'ja hadjiā'γepce gā'dja. Teinogidjā'nōk'a ē'dja wadjuŋk'ā' gigō'-ireje giji. Ētcawě'je Hotcu'ngenoŋk'a wādjera hadjā'nāke. Teinogidjā'nāk'a ēdjatca' tcawě'giji wādjera naŋŋirā'reje Hotcu'ngera. Ē'djatca wak'araci'-ik'djegε wa'uŋgū'ni hiraī'rege.

When Tcap'ō'sgaga returned, he went around the other tribes. He went across the island. When he was home he said to the Winnebago, "Our father is going to come." All therefore expected that their father would come. Soon after the French ship came in sight. The other tribes went toward the boat as it came in sight. The Winnebago saw them go toward it. The Winnebago were frightened as they saw the other people go toward the boat, thinking that the French might take part against them.

Teinogidjā'nāk'a waxopi'nixdjīnigenōk'a hokit'ai'regi, "Hi-ā'ndjenina Hotcu'ngenoŋgre wowō'-gera hiraŋ'e'reztinŋā'dja. Hija' hinimiŋwigā' hagai'ra, cuŋkxu'nuxdjīnigra' cuŋkxetε'xdjīna cuŋkxunū'nīk'djega hanimiŋgirā'nāga rasā'k'djī necōnū'nā, jě'sge Hotcu'ŋk'djane hiŋgigi-ā'djena. Hagai'xdjīna raxodjerā'cana djek'djε'gedjini jēgu 'ugigi'wire." Nonenŋihā'nā waxopi'nixdjī-genōk'a ēgi wě'nā, "Hisge' wacawī'nā niŋgi'djitēk'djā'winā. Djasgerawi-ā'nāga raxo'djcanā djerā'winōnā, jēsge hiniŋgigik'djā'winā. Tε'ē'ji c'ūā'canagwī're jēgu'carawī'giji. Hotcu'ŋk'djane haŋke warū'djeniga ē'tca wap'ako'nōk harā'djena, hira-perεzwi'nā. Djasge'jōnera niŋgituzi-ā'nāga hanigā'nyak'arawi-ā'nāga cinigī'gik'djā'winā. Aigi djagū'hare nīge hiŋgi'ū'wiŋε. Higūā'na hatai'ndjacana horawā'radji'wigi, higūā'na ēdja hak'djowak'ā'rawinō'ne Haŋke' c'ūwī'ni-gi djadjai'ŋxdjī p'ā horawacā'rawigī'ji hiŋk'agā' wī'ū'nā hisge' winigītū'wīnik'djōnā'winā. Hotcu'ngenoŋgre haŋke' ragicū'rucdjāwinigi wī'ū wak'ūā'nāga hotcintci'nwānina harā'tc wāgigik'djě'nā," wige'je. "Ho," airā'nāga.

Then the other tribes spoke to the French. "Father, you know very well that the Winnebago are bad people. Just as a big dog jumps on to a small dog and would like to kill it, so the Winnebago used to do to us. Let us therefore reduce them to ashes." The Frenchman agreed with them and said, "You have spoken the truth and I will help you. I will let you go

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on (if you wish) but the result would be simply that you will reduce everything to ashes. This is what will happen if you continue. You know that the Winnebago get very resourceful when they starve. That is his nature and therefore I will take him home with me and fatten him up for you. But you must do what I now tell you. From whatever different places you have come, go back to them. If you don't do it, as long as you live, never will I sell any ammunition to you. If you do not let up on the Winnebago, I will give them ammunition and lend them my men. "All right," said they.

Higūā'na mok'ī'-eje ēgi hinugrā' nīk'djo'ngeniḡra wātedjejad' waruti' kereje'. Uankci'gera wasagerē'ra mowai'reje. Waniḡgi'gi teiwusu'ntcinīk teiwagigi-ā'naga, wārutcwogā'naga. Mācdjai'-negi, ē'gi gi-ā's wagigi'je, hījuk pi'ḡxdjī wogā'naga warū'djera djā'naga waitcū'iranagijēnugā'cana wogā'je. Nītacdjā'gera, tanī'jura, waisgā'bera, wārudjerā'nate wogā'naga, wawage'je, "Nīk'djo'genigāxdjwi'nā, rāgiwaistenā'wire. Jigā'ganīxdjī wocā' ho-irō'ni hic'ūwi-e'ge. Hō'rija kī'cip rawigī'ji, hage'dja t'e'giji honinī'nawigi hoija' t'anāk'ī'ji homxu'dj hīregā'dja. 'Wapo'γere kī'cip t'e wa'unai'ḡk'djanē'nā rak'iri-ō'gigiwai'renā, aīrek'djē'nā. P'ēdjorāt'ū'wigi, p'ēdjerā hoiciipdjī hawonā'wi-ādje. Jigā'geni-xdjī nā'ū'stera hijā ni-ō'rat'ūcarawi-e'gi."

Then they scattered and the women and children were taken into the boat. The men who could walk fast, walked. As soon as he had brought them back near the fort, he gave them food with which to sustain themselves. When they were strong enough, he bade them flee and gave them good guns and as much food as they could carry in their boats. Coffee, sugar, bread and all kinds of food he provided for them and he said, "Children as you're about to flee (remember this). Never hunt fish with a spear. You might thus let a fish escape and if it dies later on and (the enemy) hook a dead fish and inspect it, they will say, 'This fish was speared and got away and died and therefore they (the Winnebago) have passed here. Likewise, if you build a fire, always cover up the embers, for if you should throw any into the water (you would be detected).'

Aigi niḡgiō'wak'arai'renā wādjō'we. Te'nāk'a yowak'arai'renā howi'wis nāji'regi niwō'gizik, hiragi'regi ēdja h'ixdje'gi hoirā'tc-gera, howak'arai'renā. E'gi te'e'ji jēgiā'naga.

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Tcinā'gidjā hirā'nihera waxopi'nixdjiginōk'a, ē'dja k'arai'cdja hadji'reje, womo'ngiratcgi herege' wagai'reje, "Djasge'ranitce'je," higairegi. Wawage'je, "Niηk'djo'ngeniḡā'xdjiwinā, Hotcu'ηk'djaηe djasge'jaḡera hirape'rezhigā'djā. Wirak'ā'raxdjinaḡi nūnige' hatci'ndja horuna'neḡicge, haηke' yape'rezenī'nā. Hāhe'regi hainigā'djā haηk'ā'wajeni'ne. Rek'ū'ji hiregū'ni yarē'nā, hirom'haḡegi honiwāḡigī'ra haηke' ēdja wajani'nā."

Then they went away in boats and returned to the lake. When they came to the narrow place, where the main body of water lies, there they went ahead along the left branch. Now this is all of this.

After awhile the tribes came to see the Frenchman, for it was about the time fixed and they said, "How have you been getting along?" Then he said, "Children, you know what kind of people the Winnebago are. We watched them very closely but they got away, in what direction I do not even know. In the morning they were gone. I believe they went down stream, although I haven't even hunted for them up stream."

Nū'nige tcinō'gidjā k'ok'irā'djōk'a honi'neje hisge'xdji jēdju'ηk'dje hirowai'reje. Roγī'xdji nihe'ra hō'-ija ē'djak'i horuxu'djireḡā'djā wocā'-iyakōnō'gire wa'ia'ηk'i. "Yak'iriō'giwai'renā." Jige' ni-ok'ixā'djega ē'dja hahī'reḡādja hatca'k'a howarai'regi haηk'ipe'rezirā'ni, nūnige' ēdja na'ustē'ja ni-ē'dja (k'u?) hadjai'regi. "E-ak'iriogiwai'renā." Nī'djega isā'wara, ē'djahi haηke' wadjō'wepi'nigi. E'dja Wacereke' k'isagera djanāḡā'k'i ēdja wāt'unaireje. Tcīp'ā'ropera wadjai'regi. "Egi ak'irina'kcanā," ai'rege. Pihī' wawesi'wīnegā'djā Wace'reke wa'ū'nākce wawiwa'ηyireje. Hagas'ī'redjaηxdji yak'ī'ri-ogiwai'renā.

Naḡū'ra tcaṡ'ia'k'iji waruxai'reje. Hagārē'ja tcanī' sinihi'xdji harū'ziregi, ē'dja hig'iḡi'reje hanā'te wakcaireje.

Well, all these different tribes looked for the Winnebago, for they wished to trail them and kill them. Now, although the Frenchman had expressly forbidden them, sure enough (the Foxes) found a fish that had been speared. "They've come past here," they said. However when they came to the fork of the stream they didn't know which way (the Winnebago) had gone, but they noticed embers in the water. "They've gone by here." As it was impossible to go to the end of the stream in boats, all the half-breed Foxes got out (and walked). Soon they

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saw the oval lodges. "There they are," they said. For that reason the Foxes carefully looked them over and watched them. They inquired about them and found out that they had passed by.

The road (trail) was visible, so they chased them. Soon a cold autumn spell overtook them and they (the enemy) gave up and returned home.

A Narrative of Life on the Old Frontier

Henry Hay's Journal from Detroit to the Mississippi River

Edited with introduction and notes by M. M. Quaife

Probably the vast majority of Americans think of the Revolutionary War as lasting from 1775 to 1783. It is true the Treaty of Paris marks the formal conclusion of the struggle. But it does not mark the conclusion of angry debate with the mother country, nor the evacuation of American territory by British soldiery. Neither Great Britain nor the United States adhered scrupulously to its treaty obligations, and the former manifested no intention of evacuating the Western posts, lying within the borders of the younger nation. The real reason for this was commercial. On the fur trade depended the prosperity of Canada. To control the fur trade the British must control the Indians. Hence the obligations to evacuate the upper posts was disregarded, and for a dozen years after the conclusion of the Treaty of Paris the major portion of the country northwest of the Ohio River continued to be treated as British territory. The Indian tribes of this region were then numerous and powerful. Relying upon the British for material support they waged bloody warfare upon the Americans in the vain hope of confining the advancing tide of settlement to the south side of the Ohio. The government of the Confederation was almost a nullity. Its successor, the feeble Federal government, distracted by the many problems pressing for solution, was exceedingly averse to accepting the gage of battle thus thrown down. When at length it did, three successive armies and five years of painful

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effort were required to humble the belligerent tribesmen. Thus the Revolution in the West may not unfairly be said to have lasted a score of years, and to have closed only with the Jay and Greenville treaties.

A variety of reasons exist for publishing the Journal which is presented in the following pages. The incidents recorded day by day by this British partisan, sojourning in one of the chief of the hostile towns, shed a ghastly light upon the forays which goaded the American bordermen to madness and their government into reluctant war. A perusal of the details presented by our journalist—the heart of the American prisoner, pierced with a stick and preserved “like a piece of dried venison”; the plight of the captive, John Witherington, separated from his wife, “7 months gone with childe,” and seven children, who had fallen into the hands of other bands of barbarians; the destruction of forty souls, men, women, and children; the all night dance of savage triumph in celebration of such atrocities as these—prepare the reader to appreciate the indignation with which the militant author of *The Winning of the West* wrote of this period in our history.

Whether justly or not, the harassed American borderers ascribed to Great Britain the real responsibility for their intolerable plight. The present day opinion of well informed students of the subject inclines to acquit the home government of any positive agency in the matter. But the present day scholar, possessing sources of information denied to contemporaries and entire immunity from the gory scalping knife and tomahawk, may consider the subject calmly and philosophically; the American borderer's opinions were based upon the acts of Great Britain's agents in America and the visible facts of the situation on the frontier. Whatever the real motives of the home government in the premises, the conclusions drawn by the frontiersmen from the information at their command were not unreasonable. Whoever would understand the enthusiasm of the frontier for war with England in 1812 must take account of the conditions revealed by such documents as the one which follows. When the Delawares threaten to remove to the Spaniards, and, “not go to war against the Americans any more,” the authority of McKee, the British Indian agent, is invoked to restrain them. When it is

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believed that the trader, Lasselle, is to be burned by the natives because of his supposed sympathy with the Americans, the affair is reported to Major Murray, the British commandant at Detroit; and Lasselle's good character is finally established by a certificate signed by all the villagers—living in the heart of the modern Indiana—that he is “a good loyalist” and “always for supporting his King”. A trader going to the Wabash must have a British pass; one who speaks disrespectfully of the British officials at Detroit is reported to those authorities therefor; while the author of our Journal, a British partisan, dares not venture his “carcass” among the Americans at Vincennes.

Some interesting views are afforded by the Journal of the conditions affecting the conduct of the fur trade. The calling of the trader was one of toil and privation, his life constantly liable to forfeiture at the hands of the elements or of the fickle and impulsive red man. The sordid rivalry of the traders; the situation of Chevallier, “continually exposed to the malice and treachery of the Indians about him,” the degenerating influence of the wild life, exhibited in the renegade, Montraville; the menu of acorns on which La Fontaine lived for five days in succession; the lying report about Lasselle, designed to compass his destruction; details such as these incline one to give the journalist's dictum that it was “a Rascally Scrambling Trade” a more general application than was intended by its author.

For the general reader the chief interest of the document will lie, probably, in its picture of the life of the old French and Indian trading post, Miamitown. As I pen these lines my eye strays for a moment to the advertisement, on the page of a half-opened magazine, of a great manufacturing establishment of Fort Wayne; and as with a sudden rush I seem to realize how wide is the gulf which separates the life of the city at the forks of the Maumee today from that of its predecessor of a century and a quarter ago. The St. Joseph and St. Mary's still unite to form the Maumee, and still the springtime flood, which drove the French habitants to their garrets and made the canoe the only vehicle of transportation from house to house, recurs to plague the modern city. But in all else the imagination can scarcely conceive a wider gulf than the one which separates the Fort Wayne of today from the Miamitown of 1790.

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Our journalist presents, as with a moving picture film, a cross-section of life from what is commonly considered the most romantic period in the history of the old Northwest. To the critical eye of the conquering Anglo-Saxon the French settlers were slothful, vicious, and indolent. That there was a measure of truth in this judgment need not be denied. But the characteristic vivacity and gaiety of the French spirit shows nowhere to better advantage than when set off by such hard material conditions as those portrayed in the following pages. A careless reader of the Journal might well gather the impression that social diversion was the chief business of its characters. Feasts, dances, and ceremonies follow one another in close succession. The settlers assemble for midnight mass and for morning and evening prayers on Sunday, called thereto by the lusty ringing of cowbells. The musicians play the flute and fiddle indifferently for drinking bout and mass, and at times go reeling from the one to the other. A "Pigg" is stolen for a joke and the victim composes a ballad on the subject. The order of the "Friars of St. Andrew" is organized for purposes not sanctioned by the rules of St. Benedict, furnishing the subject for another ballad. Not even the flooding of the town suffices to quench the gaiety, for before the flood has subsided the ladies are taken for a row on the river to the accompaniment of fiddle and flute.

Interesting, too, are some of the quaint customs of the time. Men appear at a ball wearing fur caps adorned with "Black Ostridge Feathers" and "amasingly large" cockades of white tinsel ribbon. On New Year's day the journalist makes the round of the village kissing all the ladies "young and old". That temperance reform had as yet made its appearance at the forks by the Maumee can scarcely be affirmed. On December 25 our journalist and his companions became "infernally drunk"; at an entertainment the following evening all except the writer became "very drunk"; the next evening the celebrants are "damned drunk"; and the following forenoon finds them again at their cups. On the occasion of another evening party it is deemed worthy of record that none of the men became drunk, "which is mostly the case in this place when they collect together."

The original Journal is the property of the Detroit Public

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Library. For furnishing the copy here presented acknowledgment is due Mr. Clarence M. Burton of Detroit, valiant laborer in the local historical field. The document is a small volume having a calfskin cover. It bears upon both sides the name of P. H. Hay but within the journalist preferred, apparently, to sign the name Henry. Without positive knowledge in the premises, I am inclined to think that P. H. Hay and Henry Hay were one and the same person, an opinion shared by Mr. Burton. Pierre Hay was born and baptized September 11, 1765. The records of St. Anne Parish contain no further mention of him, but Henry is mentioned as a witness at baptisms in 1787 and 1792.

The father, Jehu Hay, was a Detroit citizen of much prominence in the generation of the Revolution. A native of Pennsylvania, he enlisted in the Sixtieth American Regiment during the French and Indian War, and in 1762 was sent to Detroit with a detachment of troops. He served there during Pontiac's War and later entered the Indian Department. In 1776 he was made deputy Indian agent and major of the Detroit militia. In this capacity he acted as Governor Hamilton's chief assistant in the latter's contest with George Rogers Clark for the control of the Northwest. Upon the triumph of the latter, Hay, like Hamilton, his leader, was consigned to a Virginia dungeon. Toward the close of the war, having been released from captivity and returned to Quebec, he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Detroit; he had actually performed the duties of his office for only a year, however, when his career was cut short by death, in 1785.

The nature of Henry Hay's mission to Miamitown is nowhere stated in the Journal. Apparently he was in the pay of William Robertson, the Detroit merchant; there seems to be ground, too, for the conjecture that he was acting in some public capacity for Major Murray. Possibly the missing pages would have supplied the explanation, but its absence does not affect materially the historical interest attaching to the document.

Miamitown, where Hay passed the winter, was in 1790 the most important center of the Miami Indians. Situated at the junction of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph rivers, and commanding the important Maumee-Wabash portage, it was one of the vital strategic points of the Northwest. Recognizing this the French, in their expansion over the interior, had early estab-

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lished a rude fort here. In 1747, as the result of an Indian conspiracy, Fort Miami was burned to the ground. It was shortly rebuilt, however, and was occupied successively by French and English garrisons until the summer of 1763, when it fell before the followers of Pontiac. The garrison was not restored thereafter by the English, but the French habitants continued to reside here, and the traders to resort to the place. As one of the chief centers whence the Indian war parties issued forth against the border settlements, when the American government at length determined upon a course of retaliation, Miamitown was at once marked for chastisement. Over the festive traders a dire fate was impending. The Americans believed that they were engaged in hounding the savages on to their work of devastation and torture. The traders on their part denied this, and probably with truth, for the conditions of Indian warfare and the successful prosecution of the fur trade were mutually antagonistic. This fact in no wise altered the American belief, however, and General Harmar, commander of the army about to be launched against Miamitown, was promising, in the event of a successful issue of the campaign, to attend to the case of "the villanous traders".

When the American army at length approached, in October, 1790, the natives drew back a short distance in anticipation of the blow. Miamitown was burned and a series of bloody conflicts ensued. The stream whereon but a few months before the Canadian ladies had been rowed to the music of violin and flute now ran red with the blood of the soldiers. Eventually the Americans retired, the net result of the expedition being a "mortifying failure".

Harmar's expedition inaugurated a five-year period of warfare by the American government for the reduction of the tribesmen. Through it all, the site of Miamitown at the forks of the Maumee was a principal goal of endeavor. St. Clair was ordered to establish a large military station here in 1791; instead, he led his army to one of the most terrible defeats in American military annals. In 1794, a third American army at length succeeded. Miamitown was once more ravaged. Fort Wayne was constructed, and therewith the name of the grim conqueror became permanently attached to the place. With this change, this introduction to Hay's Journal may properly conclude.

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Journal from Detroit to the Miami River

Left Detroit 9th. December 89, in company with Mr. Leith,¹ and attended by a French man and a negro. Got this night within ½ mile of Adam Browns,² slept in a deserted House, found it difficult to get a canoe to cross River aux Ecorse.

10th. Left this place about ½ past 8 o'clock. Crossed the River Huron very well, from that proceeded to River au Rozain³ w[h]ere arrived about ½ past 4 o'clock in the Evening, found the roads very bad, creeks high, owing to the great falls of rain; slept at Capt. Bennacs⁴ Justice of the Peace of this new Settlement who received us very well—saw my uncle Baptist Reaume⁵ who promised to send my Maire into Detroit immediately.

11th. Left Capt. Bennacas this morning about 8 o'clock; it was with difficulty that we crossed the River Rozin the Water

¹ George Leith, a prominent Detroit trader. In 1788 he was represented to a government investigating committee at Quebec as a man "of liberal education and highly respected in the settlement [Detroit]." *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XI, 633. A number of his letters are printed in *Indiana Magazine of History*, V, 138 ff.

² According to one account of Pontiac's Conspiracy Adam Brown was at Detroit as early as 1763. He resided at Brownstown for a long time, later removing to Malden. In 1793 and 1794 he furnished supplies to the British authorities for use on the Maumee. See *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 366; XXXV, 63, 64; XXXVI, 358.

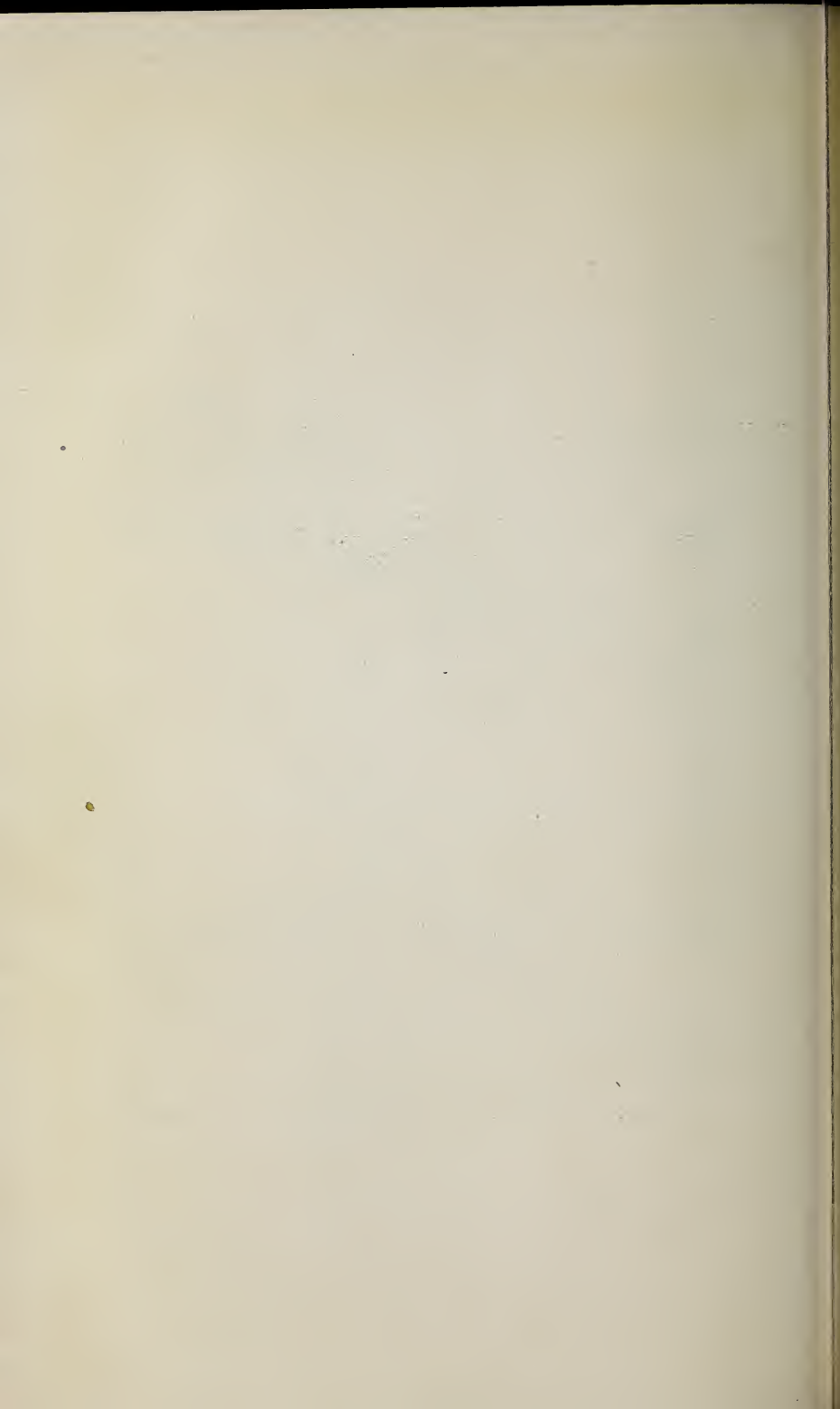
³ The modern Raisin. On Thomas Hutchins' map of 1778 the name appears as "Au Rosine."

⁴ Probably J. Porlier Benac, captain of the Raisin River militia company. After Jay's Treaty Benac was one of those who elected to remain a British subject. See *Ibid.*, VIII, 410, 498; XXIV, 248.

⁵ Pierre and Hyacinthe Reaume, brothers, came to Detroit in 1726. They became the progenitors of a numerous line of descendants, who from Detroit spread over the Northwest. Baptiste Reaume was evidently the brother of Hay's mother, whose maiden name was Marie Julie Reaume.



MAP OF REGION TRIBUTARY TO DETROIT AND MIAMITOWN



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being very high—Rain this morning, which turned out into snow afterwards. Found the Roads damned bad about half way, arrived at the Foot of the Rapids at McCormicks about sun set—found myself very tired; found Mr. Arthur McCormick here going out Trading—

12th. Left Mr. McCormick about 10 o'clock, stopped at Cochrans at Roch de Bout⁶ gott a Venison Stake & proceeded to the Prierie des Maske⁷ were we made a large fire & encamped, found the roads pretty passable.

13th. Left this place this morning about 8 o'clock and proceeded to Glaize,⁸ w[h]ere we arrived about ½ past 3 o'clock—we were received very graciously by Mr. McDonnell who lives there; he gave us good venison stakes & cyder—grogg &c. for Dinner;— Roasted venison for supper. &c.

14th. Left this place about 11 o'clock; but we were obliged to send our little baggage on to the little Glaize about three miles from this bigg Glaize which [a] canoe crossed us over—and we swam our Horses—the water was very high. Slept this evening about 8 Leagues from the place we sett out from upon a Hill—Mr. McDonnell and one Blanchet⁹ an ancient Canadia[n]

⁶ Roche de Bout was the name given by the early French travelers to a rocky point projecting into the channel of the Maumee about a mile above the modern Waterville, Lucas County, Ohio. It was also the name of an Ottawa village in the immediate vicinity. Wayne's decisive victory over the tribesmen in the battle of Fallen Timbers, August 20, 1794, occurred a short distance down the Maumee from Roche de Bout. See C. E. Slocum, *History of the Maumee River Basin* (Defiance, O., 1905), 461; F. W. Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians* (Washington, 1907).

⁷ Prairie du Masque was a camping station a short distance above the Grand Rapids of the Maumee; so called from the fancied resemblance of the grass-covered bank to the form of a woman. The early American settlers, with unconscious humor, transformed the name into Damascus. Slocum, *op. cit.*, 553.

⁸ At the junction of the Au Glaize River with the Maumee; commonly called by the Americans Grand Glaize, or Glaize. Fort Defiance was built there by Wayne in 1794, and later the place became the site of the modern city of Defiance.

⁹ Possibly Joseph Blanchet, a French-Canadian trader who assisted in the ransoming of O. M. Spencer at Grand Glaize in 1792. See *A True Narrative of the Captivity of the Rev. O. M. Spencer by the Indians in the Neighborhood of Cincinnati, written by Himself* (New York, 1834[?]).

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Trader came with us as far as this and slept with us; Mr. McDonnell had a horse load of Indian goods and was going to trade them at the Indian wigwams a few miles in the woods—a small distance from the place we encamped we met with some Indian Hutts which Mr. McDonnell visited, on his coming an Indian asked him if he was hungry; answered yes, then says he I'll roast a Rackoon for you & asked w[h]ere he intended to encamp that he might know w[h]ere to bring it—Mr. McDonnell told him—Mr. McD. told us his story. I believe the Indian wanted to do it, but Leith did not.—However about 8 o'clock in the evening, just after we had supped, we perceived a fire brand coming thro' the woods, which proved to be the Indian with a roasted Rackoon cut up in a wooden dish which he delivered to Mr. McDonnell. He seemed to be a very merry fellow, he left us about 10 o'clock—left his wooden dish, it being their custom, they come for it when they find you are gone.—Haile and raine this evening & part of the night.

15th. Parted with Mr. McDonnell & Blanchet this morning about 8 o'clock—rain and hail till 11 or 12 o'clock, found the Road very bad. slept at [illegible] about 7 leagues and a half from the Miami Town—a little snow this evening.

16th. Left this place this morning about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 o'clock and arrived at the Miami Town¹⁰ about 10 o'clock, found the roads very bad. I visited Mrs. Adamhers¹¹ family.

¹⁰ The site of the modern Fort Wayne, Indiana. According to Capt. John Armstrong, a member of Harmar's army which raided the place in the summer of 1790, there were seven distinct villages in the vicinity of the junction of the St. Mary's and the St. Joseph rivers. One of them was the Miami village, in the fork of the St. Joseph and the Maumee. Here the French traders lived. See H. S. Knapp, *History of the Maumee Valley* (Toledo, 1872), 66.

¹¹ Probably the name should be spelled Adhemar. La Balme, who plundered the traders at Miamitown in 1780, lists one "Admer", a merchant, as "a dangerous man". This meant, of course, that according to La Balme's information he was loyal to the British cause. In March, 1779, one Adhemar who had been sent by Hamilton to Miamitown with ten perogues and thirty men to get provisions forwarded from Detroit, was captured by George Rogers Clark. In 1788 St. Martin Adhemar was appointed one of the commissioners of the newly-created District of Hesse. William Robertson, the spokesman of the Detroit traders

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17th. Wrote to Detroit to my brother Meredith & Baby, gave them an account of my jants & this place etc—visited a couple more of the french familys at this place found them very decent & polite—particularly at Mr. Adamhers who gave me a very friendly invitation to their house sans ceremonie.

18th. Wrote Mr. Robertson,¹² with respect to my $\frac{1}{2}$ pay certificates not being able to send them in by Mr. Sharpe¹³ who left this place for Detroit this day—but promised to get them made out the 25th Inst & forward them in by the first opportunity—We have had most delightful weather ever since our arrival here. I think upon the whole this is a very pretty place—the River that this town is built upon is called the River St. Joseph which falls into the Miami River very near the town at the S. W. end of it. This day a prisoner was brought in here; Rather a elderly man was taken better than a month ago at a place called the little Miami—the Americans are now making a settlement at that place¹⁴—this man was engaging to work for one John Phillipps, one of the settlers, was out in a field about two miles from his masters, saving fother for the cattle when

who memorialized Lord Dorchester against the new act, gave as the objection to Adhemar that he was settled at Vincennes "in the American states". See *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XI, 622, 632; Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1909, 132; *Illinois Historical Collections*, VIII, 194; for a brief sketch of Adhemar's career, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 159.

¹² Probably William Robertson, a prominent merchant, who settled at Detroit in 1782. See *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.* XI, 627 ff; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 272.

¹³ George Sharp, also prominent as a trader at Detroit. Robertson describes him as "of liberal education and highly respected". *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XI, 633. Sharp was with Matthew Elliott when the latter ransomed O. M. Spencer at Grand Glaize in 1792. The picture which Spencer draws of him on that occasion is far from flattering. For further facts about Sharp, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 279, 291.

¹⁴ This was Columbia City, founded in November, 1788, three-fourths of a mile below the mouth of the Little Miami. Its projectors fondly hoped to see it become the metropolis of the surrounding region, and for a year or more their dreams seemed in a fair way of being realized. But the greater natural advantages of the site opposite the mouth of the Licking River destined this point, where Cincinnati was shortly founded, to be the site of the future metropolis. In 1873 Columbia City, still a small town, was annexed as a suburb to its successful rival.

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he was taken—last Spring was the first time they came to it. Lower down the river towards the falls of the Ohio—about five miles from this settlement where the Americans are now very busy building redoubts & block Houses ever since last Summer—they have three companies of regular Congress Troops—the number not known¹⁵—Those three companies came from three different places viz:—Capt. Pratt¹⁶ from Fort Pratt, Capt. Strong¹⁷ from Muskingum, the other he does not know his name came from the Fall of Ohio, this place is called Licken¹⁸ after a small river about the width of this which comes from Kentuck and falls into the Ohio. This place has been commanded lately by one Major Dotty,¹⁹ who is gone up to Muskingum for his health as supposed; the Governor (St. Clair) was expected down in his place for a short time.²⁰ Capt. Strong, he supposed comn'd in the absence of the major until the arrival of the Governor. The full compliment of the subaltern officers of the compy's he thinks were present for their appeared to him to be a great many of them—particularly in Capt. Strong's he thinks he saw at least three of them. He never was w[h]ere the troops are but one Sunday, therefore cannot give a certain account. This man is an Irishman born in the County of Tip-

¹⁵ The settlement of Cincinnati was begun in the late autumn of 1788. The following summer Fort Washington was constructed at this point by a force of troops sent down the Ohio from Fort Harmar for this purpose.

¹⁶ Lieut. John Pratt, enlisted from Pennsylvania.

¹⁷ Capt. David Strong, enlisted from New York.

¹⁸ The Licking River. Apparently Hay's informant was unfamiliar with the more imposing designation Losantiville given by the Kentucky pedagogue, John Filson, to the infant settlement. This hybrid, compounded for the occasion from Greek, Latin, and French elements, was intended by its compiler to signify "town opposite the mouth of the Licking". In 1790, at the behest of Governor St. Clair, Losantiville gave place to the modern Cincinnati.

¹⁹ Maj. John Doughty, commander of the force which built Fort Washington. On Dec. 28, 1789, General Harmar, descending the Ohio from Fort Harmar, reached the new fort, and named it Washington "on account of its superior excellence". Fort Washington now became the military headquarters of the Northwest. On being relieved by Harmar, Major Doughty took command of Fort Harmar, which guarded the new settlement of Marietta.

²⁰ Governor St. Clair reached Cincinnati on January 2, 1790.

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perary came to America about Twenty years ago— never served with them or for them, lived the greatest part of the war in Virginia at a place called Fort Quire County²¹ a country place—they had a Court House there—came down to this place (the little Miami) in July last. Last place he came from was Staunton²² Augusta County—in Virginia. Aged about upwards of Forty. lost his father and mother very young. The Indians who took him are Delawares—did not use him ill nor did they took him with that intention, only to learn intelligence of what those People were about; he has his liberty, is to live with us the whole Winter as a servant and in the Spring the Indians have promised to take him safe back. It seems that he would prefer remaining in this country had he but his cloaths and some money to the amount of Ten Pounds Virginia Money which Mr. Philipps owes him. He was allowed from him for his work 40/ that currency per month and provisions—Virginia money is the nearest to sterling of any money in this country except Halifax is 6/ to the Dollar. Visited Mrs. Adamher and family this morning—This evening, also visited Mr. Rivarr's²³—Miss Rivarr is a very pretty girl, inclined to be stoute, very fair, black eyes, but rather aukward. un peu a la Paysan.

19th. Froze hard last night. Ice comes down the river But still a very fine day—This day arrived here the *Little Turtle*²⁴

²¹ Fauquier County.

²² Staunton.

²³ The papers captured from La Balme upon the destruction of his force near Miamitown in 1780, contained a list of the French inhabitants of the place, including one Rivard. Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1909, 132. Rivard is also mentioned in a letter from Detroit to David Gray at Miamitown, March 23, 1785. *Indiana Mag. of Hist.* V, 142, 143.

²⁴ Little Turtle was born on Eel River in 1752, and died at Fort Wayne in 1812. One of the ablest leaders the red race has produced, he was an inveterate foe of the Americans until the Treaty of Greenville, of 1795. He bore a leading part in the negotiations over the treaty, contending stoutly for the interests of his race. Convinced of the hopelessness of further resistance he pledged a religious observance of the treaty. Until his death, eighteen years later, this promise was kept, and Little Turtle was a firm friend of the whites. His greatest military exploit was the destruction of St. Clair's army in 1791 by the warriors under his command. He opposed making a fight against

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a chief of the Miamiæ with his war party consisting of about fifteen or sixteen—they had made two prisoners (a negro and a white man) the negro was left with a few whites at the Little Miami. They rest went out looking for more, they left their baggage & four Horses—during which time the Americans came on them, retook the negro, plundered the baggage, horses &c. The Indians made off & joined the others. Went and paid a visit this afternoon to Mrs. Adamher—drank Coffee with her. She showed me a further mark of her Politeness & attention, by telling me as it was very difficult to get cloaths & Linnen washed at this place, begged I would send her mine that her Ponnies wench should wash them.²⁵

20th. Little rain & snow last night which has made it very slippery. Rather a darking day. Saw this day the Rifle Horn & Pouche Bag belonging to the American that was murdered by the Indians. It seems that he was rather an elderly man & very tall—had some money both Silver & Paper of Virginia. I find that this man was immediately killed after he was taken by one of the party who struck him twice or thrice in the back an side, in consequence he said of having some of his own relations killed lately. This is their way of retaliating; the young fellow that had taken him offered to hinder the other, but could not he was in too great a passion.

Paid a visit this morning to one Mr. Payetts²⁶ family, think nothing of Miss—She's very brown.

Passed an agreeable afternoon & evening at Mrs. Adamhers in company with Mrs. & Miss Rivare & Mrs. Ranjard; I played the flute and sang. Mr. Kinzie²⁷ the fiddle, & all the ladies

Wayne in 1794, and consequently the leadership of the red men in the battle of Fallen Timbers passed to his kinsman, Blue Jacket.

²⁵ A pani (panis, pawnee, paunee, etc.) was a slave of the Indian race. This designation was due to the fact that most of the Indian slaves belonging to the Algonquian and other Indians of the Great Lakes and the Middle West were procured from the Pawnee tribe. *Handbook of American Indians*.

²⁶ Possibly the same person whom La Balme's list of the inhabitants of Miamitown in 1780 designates as Paillet.

²⁷ This was John Kinzie who has acquired posthumous fame as the reputed "father" of Chicago. For a sketch of his career, see M. M. Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest* (Chicago, 1913), 145–52. When Har-mar's force destroyed Miamitown the summer following Hay's sojourn

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except two sang also, Mrs. Ranjard has a fine voice. We drank tea & coffee about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 o'clock & a light supper about 9 o'clock and then broke up. The French settlers of this place go to prayers of a Sunday, morning & evening, at one Mr. Barthelmis²⁸ which is performed by Mr. Payee;²⁹ the people are collected by the Ringing of three cow bells, which three boys runs about with thro' the village, which makes as much noise as twenty cows would. I went this afternoon to their prayers it being Sunday. A little snow this evening.

I forgot to mention the 19th inst. that on the arrival of the warriors the other side of the river, the Gree³⁰ ordered a Pirogue (which happened to be just arrived from the forks of the river with wood) to be unloaded by some of the french lads who stood on the bank, and sent one of them over with it; on their arrival he Billeted them like Soldiers so many in each House accord-

there, Kinzie apparently retired, with others of the traders to Grand Glaize. The captive, Spencer, speaks of his house here in 1792, and describes Kinzie as "a Scot, who, in addition to merchandyzing, followed the occupation of a silversmith, exchanging with the Indian his brooches, ear-drops, and other silver ornaments, at an enormous profit, for skins and furs." Spencer, *op. cit.*, 30. Kinzie later established himself at Parc aux Vaches on the St. Joseph River, near the forks of the Chicago-Detroit and the Chicago-Fort Wayne Indian trails. In the spring of 1804 he removed to Chicago, where Fort Dearborn had been constructed the previous summer. Except for the four years from 1812 to 1816, this was his home until his death in 1828.

²⁸ One of the oldest inhabitants of Miamitown. His name is included in the "census" of Indiana of 1769, and also in La Balme's list of the inhabitants of Miamitown in 1780. See Illinois State Historical Society, *Trans.*, 1909, 132; Indiana Historical Society, *Publications*, II, 439, 440.

²⁹ Probably the priest, Louis Payet, who was born at Montreal in 1749, and came to Detroit in 1781. He made trips to the missions at Vincennes, Cahokia, and other outlying points. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XVIII, 493.

³⁰ Le Gris, one of the prominent Miami chiefs of this time. Antoine Gamelin, who visited Miamitown in April, 1790, on an embassy for the Americans, speaks of him as "the great chief of the Miamis". *American State Papers, Indian Affairs* (Washington, 1832-61), I, 94. His importance among the Miami is sufficiently evident from the following pages. He was prominent in the warfare with the Americans which closed with Wayne's victory of Fallen Timbers, and in the negotiation of the Treaty of Greenville the following year.

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ing to the bigness of it, and took care to trouble the families as little as possible—we had six;—This he ordered in a very polite manner, but quite like a general or a commandant.

21st. Monday. The weather rather mild and foggy—much inclined towards rain. This morning Mr. Leith told me the Gree was going off immediately after breakfast with his people a hunting—& that this hunt was to bring in meat for me, and that consequently I should be under the necessity of giving him a small two gallon keg—which I did; as rum is very dear at this place no less than 40/ a gallon. I borrowed it to be returned at Detroit. The reason I gave them the rum now is, that they may not drink it about the village; it being against Major Murray's³¹ positive orders to give Indians rum at this place or sell &c., And as I'm for supporting those orders as much as lay in my little power was my particular reason for giving it to them at present; for they no doubt will not expect anymore—If they do I must say they shall not get it from me,—not only to prevent quarrels which might happen in the village if they got drunk and also supporting the Major's orders, but its an expense to myself which I shall not be able to support. Capt. Johnny Shawnee Chief³² arrived yesterday morning; from his village according to the message we sent him by an Indian woman which we met on our way here, the day before we arrived. The Gree introduced me yesterday to his Son, my brother and old play fellow as he called him. And this morning when a[t] breakfast after I had given him the rum, he & his wife both directed me to look at my brother what a dirty fellow he was.—He also introduced me to his grand daughter who had formerly made me some small Indian Present, which I had repaid with rings—his own and only daughter died some years ago, whom he said had been my very great friend.

I was shown this morning the Heart of the white Prisoner I mentioned the Indians had killed some time ago in the Indian Country—it was quite drye, like a piece of dried venison, with

³¹ Major Patrick Murray, Sixtieth Regiment, British commander at Detroit at this time.

³² Captain Johnny was a Shawnee chief of some importance. A number of his speeches are preserved in *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XX, 385, 519; XXIV, 597, 598; XXV, 242-44, 690-92.

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a small stick run from one end of it to the other & fastened behind the fellows bundle that killed him, with also his Scalp.

Another party of the Miamies and one Shawanie came in from war This day with one scalp the[y] danced over the River, one with a stick in his hand & scalp flying; it being their custom.—Some of the warriors came over in the evening, to our House. It was rather a dirty morning; it thawed very much; we had a little rain—however it turned out a pretty clear afternoon.

22nd. *Tuesday*. Very fine beautiful morning. Froze very hard—visited Mrs. Adamher this afternoon

23 *Wednesday*. Very fine morning more like Spring than fall weather, grass quite green—not the least frost last night—I never observed 'till this morning that a Man may easily walk over this River it being very shallow, Very few Indians here at present—most of them are gone a hunting. There are two Villages at this place one on this side the River & one on the other—the former belongs to the Gree—the other to Paccan³³ who's now in Illinois, but in his absence is Commanded by his nephew one Mr. Jean Baptist Richerville, son to one Mr. Richerville of *Three Rivers* in Cannada by an Indian woman—This young man is a Trader here—his Father has wrote for him to go to him which he means [to do] next Spring. His mother is now gone into the Indian Country (*dans les Terre as the french term it*) to trade; She lives with him when she's here—the young man is so very bashful that he never speaks in council, his mother who is very clever is obliged to do it for him.³⁴

³³ Pacan was for many years head chief of the Miami. As a young man, in 1764, he rescued Captain Thomas Morris from impending torture at Miamitown. He signed the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, as also treaties in 1805, 1809, 1814, and 1815. He died on the Wabash soon after the latter date. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XVIII, 366, 367; Thomas Morris, *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* (London, 1791), 22, 23. For a stirring speech of Pacan's in behalf of the English, in 1781, see *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 595, 596. John Johnston, who knew Pacan well, describes him as a "remarkable steady, sedate and substantial man, devoted to the interests of his people". Draper Collections (Ms.) IIYY38.

³⁴ Richardville, or Peshewah was born near Miamitown about the year 1761, and died at Fort Wayne in August, 1841. His later career indicates that he bravely overcame the bashfulness of which Hay speaks. From the death of Little Turtle in 1812 until his own death

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This evening the Gree's Brother arrived from his hunting Ground—his name is the *Deer*. He formerly was great Chief of this Village but chose to give it up to his Brother—he's very clever—his Brother never does anything without consulting him.—Capt. Johnny left this place this morning for his Village.

24th. *Thursday*. Very fine day—but cold—froze hard last night. Several Potewatomies arrived here this afternoon with skins, meat &c. Visited Mrs. Adamher was pleased to desire I should send her any linnen or any thing else that I may want to mend. She asked me to go with her to the midnight mass—and also asked me if I would play the flute which I did. Mr. Kinzie & myself went to Mrs. Adamhers about 11 o'clock—he brought his fiddle with him—we found a french man there who played with us.

25th. Came home this morning about two o'clock from mass; Mr. Kinzie & myself called first at Mrs. Adamhers on our return home, who gave us some venizon stake and roasted rackoon—Played the flute & Kinzie the fiddle with the french man this **Morning** at Mass; being a particular desire of the Peoples. We left our instruments at the House w[h]ere prayer is said. I cannot say much indeed for the Trade of this Place their's but few skins comes in, and almost every individual (except the engagés) is an Indian trader, everyone tries to get what he can either by fowle play or otherwise—that is by traducing one another's characters and merchandise. For instance by saying such a one has no Blankets another no strowde or is damned bad or he'll cheat you & so on—in short I cannot term it in a better manner than calling it a Rascally Scrambling Trade &c &c.

Somehow or other I lost a Silk Pocket Handkerchief this morning coming home—which I never expect to see—and my

in 1841, Richardville was head chief of the Miami. At the time of his death he was accounted the richest Indian in North America, his wealth being variously estimated at half a million to a million dollars. When St. Ange retired from Vincennes in 1764, he appointed the father of Richardville, "M Deroite de Richardville" a "Captain of militia", jointly with one other Frenchman to the command of the place. See *Handbook of American Indians*; Knapp, *History of Maumee Valley*, 361–64; Indiana Historical Society, *Publications*, II, 407, 408.

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Brother Johnnys³⁵ fine travelling knife stole last night, which I also give for lost.

Very hard frost last night, a great deal of ice floating down the river this morning, there was also a small *Boredage* indeed one place so wide and strong that several boys were sliding upon it, however its not extraordinary quite the contrary—for the fine weather we have had here ever since our arrival & which still continues is very much so & what I have never yet seen in this Country—however at this moment (1 o'clock) it has much the appearance of Snow which is much wanted for the Indians hunts—for deer and rakoon.

Play again this afternoon at Vespars.

26th. Got infernally drunk last night with Mr. Abbott³⁶ and Mr. Kinzie—Mr. A.—gave me his daughter Betsy over the bottle. Damnation sick this morning in consequence of last night's debashe—eat no breakfast—Kinzie & myself went to mass and played as usual.—Mrs. Ranjard gave us a cup of coffee before mass to settle our heads.

Very little frost last night—a very mild day— but rainy and disagreeable—and muddy in the bargain—very little ice floating this morning.

Mrs. Grie having made us a present of a very large Turkey Cock weighing about 30 pounds, we proposed having a Dinner among us Englishmen here.

Mr. Abbott fetched some Maderia & Mr. Kinze a Piece of fine newly corned pork—upon which we made a most excellent din-

³⁵ John Hay became later a prominent citizen of Cahokia, Illinois. R. G. Thwaites and L. P. Kellogg, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio* (Madison, 1908), 130.

³⁶ James Abbott was born in Dublin in 1725. On coming to America he first settled in Albany, removing to Detroit about the year 1763. He engaged extensively in the fur trade, conducting operations at Mackinac, Green Bay, Prairie du Chien, Fort Wayne, Ouiatanon, and Vincennes. He was the father of Robert and James Abbott, leading citizens of Detroit in the first half of the nineteenth century, and of Samuel Abbott of Mackinac. James Abbott Jr. married Sarah Whistler at Fort Dearborn in the spring of 1804, thus furnishing the first recorded marriage at Chicago. Elizabeth Abbott, the "daughter Betsey" of the diarist, was born at Detroit in 1777, married James Baby, and died at Sandwich in 1812. See P. Casgrain, *Memorial des Families Casgrain, Baby et Perrault du Canada* (Quebec, 1898), app. G.

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ner at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 o'clock after Kinzie & I had played at Vespers as usual—

After K— and I went to see Miss Rivarre & found the miss Adamhers there, the old people were out of the way.

George Girty³⁷ arrived here this day from his wintering ground which is only four miles from here—its called the Delaware Town—he desired I should write in to Capt. McKee³⁸ by the first opportunity to acquaint him that in consequence of the Miami Indians upbraiding the Delawares with telling them that the Ground they occupied now is not theirs and that upon which the Delawares answered, they were great fools to fight for lands that was not theirs and consequently would not go to war against the Americans any more; but that they will for a certainty leave the Country and go down to the Spaniards and put themselves under the protection of that Government. That he had already sent word in some time ago that they were talking of going which he hardly believed at that time—but at present can safely say that there is not the least doubt of it.—Begg at same time that Capt. McKee may not make mention that this Intelligence came thro' him—and that if Capt. McKee would Immediately send in a String of wampun to hinder them from taking such a step it would no doubt immediately stop them. Turned out a pretty good afternoon.

27th. Sunday. Kinzie & myself were invited to sup with a Mr. Barthelmie (the man of the house w[h]ere prayer is said)

³⁷ George Girty was the younger of three brothers—Simon, James, and George—who for a full generation were objects of loathing and terror along the American frontier. Natives of Pennsylvania, the brothers were captured, along with the other members of the family, by an Indian raiding party in the summer of 1756. Reared by the Indians, George Girty married among them, and became practically an Indian himself. He died near Fort Wayne, Indiana, shortly before the outbreak of the War of 1812. See C. W. Butterfield, *History of the Girtys* (Cincinnati, 1890).

³⁸ Alexander McKee, like the Girtys, was a native of Pennsylvania, who sided with the British in the Revolutionary War. He became an agent in the British Indian Department, where his influence over the natives, which he employed to incite them against the Americans, made his name one of sinister omen to the frontiersmen until the close of the Indian wars in 1795. For a sketch of McKee, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XVIII, 434.

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last night, with Mr. and Mrs. Adamher—Mr. de Sanlaren³⁹ a french gentleman a Trader at this place who formerly was an Officer in the french Service before the taking of Canada &c &c. and Mr. Baptist Lassell—we had a roasted Turkey and to my great surprise and indeed every one else we had a roasted Loine of Veal—a kind of wilde sallad which they have here all winter on the other side of the River which was very good & also some very [good] cocombers pickels cheese &c. Grogg the only drink.—everything served up in the french Stile—The miss Adamhers came and joined us after supper from Mr. Rivarres. Gentlemen & Ladies every one sung a song—after which I proposed walking a minuet with Mrs. Adamher which was accepted of & followed by a Smart Gigg Kinzie the fiddler. Then K. & Miss Adamher relieved us & play the Piper & so on—until about 11 or 12 o'clock when it was proposed on cachét, by Mrs. Adamher to give Kinzie a *bouquet* as it was the Eve of St. John—his name being *John* which was done in the French Stile—a man was posted at the door with a loaded gun ready to fire when ordered.—Mr. Adamher carried the bouquet on a plate which was made in this manner viz: A large cake with a stick in the center and some blue ribbon tied about it and three charges of powder and ball on the plate also. I proceeded in front of Mr. Adamher playing the freemasons March (Come let us prepare) Mr. K. being a freemason & just as Mr. Ad—delivered him the bouquet with the Common compliment upon such an occasion, I immediately stepped forward opened the door and gave the word fire which was done, I then took the three charges of Powder & Ball of[f] the Plate and thro' them into the fire successively, which made three very good explosions—Kinzie got very drunk and so did every one except my—

³⁹ Probably Céloron, one of the sons of Pierre Joseph Céloron, formerly commandant at Detroit. During the Hamilton-Clark campaign on the Wabash, Céloron was sent by Hamilton to take command at Ouiatanon, a short distance below the modern Lafayette, Indiana. Clark sent a detachment to capture him, whereupon Céloron beat a hasty retreat up the Wabash. He met Hamilton's army at the mouth of the Maumee, en route to capture Vincennes; Céloron here so conducted himself that Hamilton later charged him with treachery. See Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio* (Madison, 1912), 281; *Illinois Historical Collections*, VIII, 130, 179.

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self—K. was obliged to sleep at Mr. Adamhers—was too drunk to go any further—so much for last nights business.

Rained all last night and continued so to do—a very great fogg this morning—the weather very mild, in short the most unaccountable weather I have ever yet experienced at this time of the year—if it continues the Fur Trade will be very bad this year and no doubt its impossible for the Indians to hunt in this kind of weather; they may get a few Rackoon, Otter & beaver with Traps. They only kill a few deer & Bears in this wett weather particularly Bears—but not equal to as when the snow is on the ground.

Played as usual at mass. Kinzie told me this morning that Mr. Abbott requested that I should dine with him to-day.—which we did and had a good Tea Pye & a drink of Grogg.

28th. *Monday.* Last night I supped sans ceremonie at Mr. Rivarrs about 5 o'clock.—After which we repaired to Mr. Adamhers, and from that went according to appointment at Mr. de Selerons were we danced 'till about 11 o'clock—it being St. John's day & Mr. de S— a freemason, a bouquet was presented to him—upon which he and Mr. Adamher got damned drunk.—Visited the ladies this morning, also Mr. de S. who I found drinking with Adamher and some others—did not stay long as they wished me to drink at so unseasonable an hour as 11 o'clock in the morning—but promised to joine the Corum in the afternoon.

Made out my Half-Pay certificate this day—was sworn by Mr. Leith—Mr. Ironside⁴⁰ made out the Bills of Exchange for me; So that every thing is now ready to send to Mr. Robertson at Detroit by the first opportunity. [Page missing.] time; but having eat a good dinner upon a young wild Turkey with a couple of glasses of Port Wine, drove it off immediately. This evening about five the Gree & his Brother in Law, the Little Turtle arrived from their wintering Place; they drank tea, also

⁴⁰ George Ironside, at this time a leading trader of the Maumee Valley, was born in 1760, and died at Amherstburg in 1830. For many years he was in the British Indian service. He was an M. A. of King's College, Aberdeen. In 1792 he had a house at Grand Glaize. O. H. Spencer, whom Ironside befriended during the former's captivity there, speaks highly of his humanity and hospitality. See Spencer, *op. cit.*; *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XVI, 737.

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maderia Grie who came in after them and who presented us with a couple of Turkeys—The Grie told me his young men would be in in a few days, that they came first to inform us of it.—It being near the New Year, and a common custom among them to flock in about that time from their wintering places, to Salute, and of course expect some little matter.

30th. *Wednesday*. Bad cough all night—the same today—Little or no frost last night—Very mild day—but cloudy and Dark—very muddy &c.—

The Grie & Turtle visited us this morning.—Began to raine about 2 o'clock this afternoon and continued 'till near 10 or 11 o'clock.

31st. *Thursday*. Little Snow this morning, and rather cold—Very little or no frost.—The Grie and Turtle Breakfasted with us this morning.—The sun begins to Peep, all the appearance of a fine day.—The day did not turn out as I expected—it got cloudy about 1 o'clock & a little Snow.—Cold. Began to freeze about 4 o'clock this afternoon

1 January 1790 *Friday*—

Most Beautiful Sun Shiny day—Froze hard last night. High wind & pretty cold &c &c.

It being New Year the Indians who are in great number, more so indeed than I could ever have thought, also the Woman—came into the house in great numbers by three o'clock this morning which prevented Ironside & me from Sleeping—one lady came to shake hands with me when in bed.—The House was quite full at Breakfast time—The Grie & Turtle came to visit us & breakfasted with us as usual.

I forgot to mention that last night about 5 o'clock I was sent for by the Grie with Mr. Ironside. When I went to him, he informed me that his Son my Brother as he calls him, had sent me in something to eat, which was a Carcass of Venison & four or five Turkeys which he begged I would accept—His Son could not come in on account of his rather young child being unwell

The Grie asked me this morning for a bottle of Rum, I was rather loath at first to give it him, but having informed me it was only for the reception of myself or any few friends that might come to see him—as he has always been accustomed to it, I told him that in case he should have it, and that I expected

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he would not make a bad use of it—He answered that he had more respect for the recommendation I had brought him from Major Murray than to do any thing of the kind—for says he who's to protect you from any insults that might be offered to you by any hot headed Indian but myself—and should I get drunk—I know myself not capable of it.

Visited most of the Principal families of this place this morning & kissed all the Ladies young and Old—The Grie did not keep his promise with me—he was rather drunk towards the evening.

2nd. Jany. *Saturday*. Danced last night at Mr. Adamhers—no other strangers but madam Ranjard & Kinzie & myself—During the time we were dancing a french man arrived from Marie Louisas Trading Place about 25 Leagues from here—this M. Louisas is mother to yo[u]n[g] J. Baptist Richerville mentioned in my Journal some days ago. He brought word that Mr. Antoine Lassell (who is traveling at a place called le Petit Piconne ⁴¹ Six Leagues from the Ouias)⁴² is made Prisoner

⁴¹ Antoine Lasselle had been a resident of Miamitown for nineteen years at the time this journal was written. When General Harmar destroyed the place the following October, Lasselle followed Little Turtle's band to the new Miami village on the Little Glaize. He was an active partisan of the British-Indian cause, and served, garbed as an Indian, in Captain Caldwell's company of Canadian militia which fought against Wayne at Fallen Timbers. Too corpulent to keep pace with his dusky allies in their rapid retreat before the points of Wayne's bayonets, Lasselle concealed himself under a log, thinking to make his escape after nightfall. He was discovered, however, and promptly tried as a spy. The story is told that, finding the trial going against him, he gave the Masonic signal of distress, whereupon Colonel Hamtranck, president of the court-martial, threw his influence in his favor, resulting in a verdict of acquittal. Whatever the truth as to this may be, Lasselle, together with his brother Jacques, shortly afterward secretly entered Wayne's employ, and labored zealously to bring the Indians to conclude a treaty of peace with the Americans. See J. P. Dunn, *Indiana* (Boston, 1888), 436-40; W. A. Brice, *History of Fort Wayne* (Fort Wayne, 1868), app. 16, 17; *Amer. St. Papers, Ind. Affs.*, I, 494.

⁴² Petite Piconne was the modern Tippecanoe. At this time there was an important Indian village here, where resided a number of French traders. The Ouias was a village in the vicinity of the old French post Ouitanon, now the site of Lafayette, Indiana, Ouitanon was

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by the Ouias Indians—supposed for having wrote a letter some time ago to Fort Vincennes apprehending them of a Party of Indians that intended to strike there—that this Party was in consequence of it taken Prisoner by the Americans at a Post⁴³—that Lassell had also mentioned that one of the Party was Son to the Indian who burnt an American Prisoner at the Ouias last Summer.—The Indians having understood that the Americans meant to Burn this Indian, is the reason they have fallen upon Lassell and mean to burn him—his men are also prisoners—they will of course plunder him &c.—I'm sorry for it and so is every one at this place—tho' he certainly has brought [it] upon himself—

This morning after Breakfast—Mr. Adamher Mr. Leith & myself with all the Principal traders of the place collected ourselves in this house and met the Grie which was sent for for that Purpose—After he was made acquainted with the matter and his Advice asked—he answered that he was extremely sorry to hear such news, and that he had always given his advice to the people here how they should act when they went into the Interior Parts of the Indian Country—but that the french had frequently gone without letting him know or asking his advice; And that particularly Mr. Lassell who altho' he had advised not to go to that part of the country did absolutely go without acquainting him of it—for says he, had he mentioned it to me I should have sent one of my Chiefs with him, or given him a belt, as a Guard and which would have prevented any thing of this kind happening—However says [he] no time is to be lost as I am now immediately going off to my wintering Camp I shall detach three faithful warriors of mine with a belt from me to

founded by the French about the year 1720; there had been no garrison here since Pontiac's War, but it was still an important center of the Indian trade. These places were raided by an American army under Gen. Charles Scott in June, 1791, and again in August, by a force commanded by Gen. James Wilkinson. See *Amer. St. Papers, Ind. Affs.*, I, 131–33; "Ouiatanon," in *Indiana Historical Society, Publications*, II, 319–48.

⁴³ Vincennes. The post which the French established here in the first half of the seventeenth century was designated "poste du Ouabache", or, more commonly, simply "au poste". The early American settlers transformed this into "the Post" or "Opost".

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inquire into this matter which if true will effectually put a stop to it—(*if it has not already taken place.*)

Mr. Dufresne a french trader who is concerned in that part of the Country—gave him about two fathoms of Smoking Tobacco—Virmillion Provisions &c—Mr. A. Lassell has all his goods from Mr. Baby⁴⁴ which concerns me much on his account if any thing should happen.—As Mr. Kinzie means to go to Detroit on Monday next I wrote this day to the Major with respect to this affair—and to Capt. McKee with regard to the Delewares.—

Beautiful Day—froze hard last night—Wrote Mr. Robertson of Detroit this day inclosed him my bills of Exchange and certificates for my $\frac{1}{2}$ pay Wrote my brother also.

3 *January Sunday.* The Grie & Little Turtle went off on horse back for their wintering Camps, after breakfasting with & thanking us for the reception they received from us during their stay—I gave them a bottle of Rum. For it must be observed that they have nothing here to live upon—everything they possess & have is in the woods; they all come in in the Spring to the amount of four or five hundred—

Began to raine a little this Evening—Not the least frost last night—Thaughed all day.

4 *Jany. Monday.* Mr. Kinzie went off for Detroit at day break this morning. Raine all last night, which turned into Snow towards morning.—Very disagreeable dirty day—the Snow & Raine which we had last night has created a great quantity of mudd—wind a little high and sky Cloudy.—Danced and Supped at Mr. Adamhers, sans ceremonie as usual last night.—Little Snow this afternoon—Last night while we were dancing

⁴⁴ The Baby family had long been prominent in Detroit and Canada. The founder of the Detroit branch of the family was Duperron Baby, who was born at Montreal in 1731 and came to Detroit twenty years later. In 1760 he married Susanne Reaume. He was the father of no less than twenty-two children, several of whom achieved prominence. A natural daughter by an Indian mother married the chief, Blue Jacket, who figures in Hay's journal. The eldest son, James Baby, married, as we have already seen, Elizabeth Abbott. Another son, Francis, married Elizabeth Abbott's sister, Frances. Duperron Baby died at Detroit in 1789. Whether Hay's allusion is to him or to one of his sons must be left to conjecture. See *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XV, 704-6; Casgrain, *op. cit.*, app. G; Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution on Upper Ohio*, 44.

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at Mr. Adamhers his Pigg was stolen out of the Penn.—this is the 3d he has lost in the like manner the last one before this was stolen on the very same day last year.—However this one turned out to be a good story which is as follows—Mr. De Seleron & two or three french men & Mrs. Ranjard were in the secret—it was Seleron & two others who took him away—Mr. Leith as a Justice of the Peace having every reason to suspect White People as well as myself, gave me a search warrant thro the Village attended by Mr. Ironside & one La Chambre a french man, we had almost gone thro' the whole, when we came to Mr. De Selerons were we found Mr. Adamher & the people who had taken, they were telling him the story when we entered the House to Search.—we were immediately made acquainted with it—but stile continued our search to the other house we had not been at, keeping the secret, we even went to Mrs. Adamhers—own house & found the Poor woman very much affected at it, it being their only support when the fresh meat is killed, and what hurt her more was, that she intended to kill it tomorrow, and that the like had happened to her last year—however about an hour after she was very agreeably made acquainted with the joke and I never in my life saw such in a womans countenance when they told her of it—Mrs. Adamher is a woman who is amasingly fond of playing her jokes upon other people, she's always serving some one or other a trick; for which they were fully determined to play her this one, which we premeditated upwards of three weeks ago.

After I had made my report to Leith—Ironside & myself undeceived him about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after at which he laughed very much. Its a good joke and it will at the same time put those people on their guards who are apt or may intend to make robberies.

5th. *January Tuesday.* Very fine day, but cold, the weather quite changed.—Began to freeze very hard about 2 or 3 o'clock this morning.—Ironside & myself having mentioned last night that it would be a good thing to steal the Hogg back again from those that stole it which they heard; and mounted a Guard over him one of the party actually slept in the Penn with it—

This day about 2 o'clock arrived here one Tramb lai from the Ouias—He left Mr. Ant. Lassell very well at the Little Piconno

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the 29th December, and contradicts everything that we heard the 1st. Inst. with respect to that Gentleman, so far from it, that Mr. Lassell writes Mr. Adamher by this Tramlai that he never Traded better nor easier, that the Indians are perfectly quiet in that part of the Country—Such a Damnable lying Report, I never experienced before in my life,—because in general, altho' Indian Reports are never to be believed, there is always something similar to what is reported—but in this affair not even a single quarrell happened—The Grie seemed to put but very little confidence in it—I believe the french People here mean to send an express immediately to prevent this message being sent.

6th. January. *Wednesday.* Froze hard last night—& very cold all night. Turned out quite mild about 10 o'clock and began to snow very hard.—all appearance that the winter is now setting in.—am much afraid Kinzie will not get to Detroit by water.—After snowing about a couple of hours pretty smartly—it began to raine & continued 'till 10 o'clock this Evening.

7th. *January Thursday.* It began to blow amasingly hard last night about 11 o'clock & froze very hard.—Very cold winday day—a great deal of Ice floating down the River.—This afternoon about 3 o'clock arrived the Indian sent to apprise the Grie respecting Lassell's affairs—they were just going to set out when he arrived their. He presented the Grie with a Carrott of Tobacco, telling him—here's what your Brother, the french sends you & desires me acquaint you with the good news they have received, & that you need not trouble yourself with sending your message.

The three Indians pitched upon by the Grie—were *The Little Turtle*, *The Little Turkey* & *Le Jollie*.

8th. Jan'y. *Friday.* Very fine Sun Shiny day—Pretty Cold.—a great quantity of Ice floating down the River—Froze hard last night.—Invited all the principal people of this place to play cards with me this Evening.

9th. Jan'y. *Saturday.* This is the coldest day we have had since my arrival. But very fine over head—Wind began to blow excessively hard about day break & continues so to do. I scated for the first time yesterday upon a marrai about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile at the back of the village—this marrai falls into a creek which goes by the name of *le Rouisso de Rioll*. which falls into the Miami—

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This creek takes its name from a Frenchman who once had a hut close by it.

Supped this Evening at Mr. Dufrennes in company with some of the Principal French of this Place & then we all went and played cards with Mr. Abbott.

10th. *Jany. Sunday.* A most excessive cold day, quite severe—but very fine over head.—River closed some time in the night—Indians walked across this morning—Turned quite milde this afternoon. Dined with Mr. Abbott, Leith also, Mr. Ironside being unwell could not go. We were joined in the afternoon by Miss Adamher, Rivarre, De Seleron & Lassell; we drank six Bottles of wine; the two first Gentlemen preferred drinking Grogg. It must be observed at same time that we three had already drank four bottles before any of the wine drinkers came in.—We were all pretty merry.—It began to Snow about 9 or 10 o'clock this Evening.

11 *January Monday.* A great quantity of suow fell this last night and still continues to fall.—Its very mild at the same time. Turned out fine weather about 4 o'clock this Evening.

12 *January Tuesday.* Froze hard this morning about day break—Turned out a very fine Sun Shiny Day—Tramblai returned this day to Little Piconno.—This day the rooofe of the House got on fire—lucky it was not in the night or we should all been burnt.

13th. Yesterday about 2 o'clock arrived here Mr. Antoine Lassell accompanied by a french man & one Blue Jacket⁴⁵ a Shawanie Chiefe. He is come in consequence of the report spread about him, which we received the 1st. Instant.—He

⁴⁵ Blue Jacket, an influential Shawnee chief, was born about the middle of the eighteenth century. After Little Turtle, he was probably the most prominent leader of the Indians in the destruction of St. Clair's army in November, 1791. Since Little Turtle counseled peace when Wayne appeared on the Maumee three years later, the chief commanded in the battle of Fallen Timbers fell to Blue Jacket. Defeated, he yielded to the Americans and was one of the signers of the Treaty of Greenville the following year. According to the *Handbook of American Indians* he disappears from sight after signing the treaty at Fort Industry, 1805. Other accounts represent him as again raising the hatchet against the Americans in 1812, and as present at the River Raisin massacre, January 22, 1813. See *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XV, 692, 693; Casgrain, *op. cit.*, 100.

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was made acquainted of it by the following Letter which he received the night before he came off viz.

From La Riveere a Languielle⁴⁶

6th. January,

1790.

My Dear Friend

Yesterday Evening arrived here two Indians sent by the Grie to the Ouia to desire the Indians of that place to take you Prisoner and take you to the Miami Town, saying that you had writ a bad letter respecting them to the Americans.—It seems its one La Lache a Ouia Indian (*half blooded*) who has reported this against you among the Ouia's and other wintering Camps; That the Soldier⁴⁷ & The Porcupine two Chiefs of Riviere a Languile have sent the messengers back to the Grie, saying that they would inform themselves of the matter—that as far as this they had not heard anything of the matter but thro La Lache who is a great Rascall—The messengers did not intend to stop here, but having a letter from Young Mr. Coco Lassell from Mr. Dufrense was their Reason for stoping—This letter was apprising young Coco of such a report being here which Mr. Dufrense sent by a Ponnies lad who I suppose mett with these people & gave it to them, which is a lucky circumstance for you.—The Soldiar & the Porcupine desired me to write you immediately in case some rascalls w[h]ere you are might hear of it and use you ill.—They desire me at the same time to tell you to write to the Grie or to make the *Petite Face* or any of the Principal Indians acquainted with it and desire them to send by you Strings of Wampum to the Grie to undeceive him of this matter.

I am &c.,
Jacque Godfroy.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Eel River. Logansport, Indiana, is situated at its junction with the Wabash. According to W. A. Brice, the Eel River village in 1790 was situated six miles above the mouth of the stream. *History of Fort Wayne* (Fort Wayne, 1868), 117.

⁴⁷ The Soldier signed the Treaty of Greenville on behalf of the Eel River tribe. I have found no other information concerning him.

⁴⁸ Probably Jacques Godfroy Sr. He figured in the events attending Pontiac's siege of Detroit in 1763, and the following year saved the life of Capt. Thomas Morris. He was at Miamitown when Harmar fell

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Mr. Lassell could not bring any Strings with him from little Piconno because the Chiefs were not at home, but he stopped at La Riverire a Lanjeriella from which place he has brought a string accompanied with a paper mentioning the meaning of it—from the Soldiar & The Porcupine to the Grie. But he has brought with him the following certificate, signed by all the french Traders, and Indians then present at the Little Piconno, viz—

We citizens of the little Piconno certify that the bearer Antoine Lassell is a good loyalist and is always for supporting his *King*.

	his	
	Diaum X Payette	
	mark	Lamoureux
X his		
Jean Cannehous	his	
mark	Etienne X Pantonne	Henri Rainbeare
	mark	
Jacque X Dumay		his
his mark		Toop X Maisonville
		mark
his		
Lamoureux X fils	his	
mark	Piere X Clairmont	
	mark	
his		
Jean X Coustan		
mark		
	his	
(Little X Egg)		his
(mark)		(The X Sirropp)
(Ouia Indian)		mark
		(Peria Indian)

The Two considerable Indians of the little Piconno for the Present.

upon it in October, 1790, and carried to Detroit an account of the ensuing battles. The following spring his goods, to the value of £500 were destroyed by the American army that raided the Wea villages. See *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 283–85; XXIV, 106, 107, 166, 273; XXXVII, 448, 453; Thomas Morris, *op. cit.*

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The following is what the two above Indians say to the Grie—

The Grie.

We are much surprised that you harken to the Doggs of the Villages, and if the above news were True we should send you sensible men to acquaint you. Its La Lache who is a bad Indian & a Runner from one Village to another—He does not belong to our village—we beg you will not believe those bad Birds, who goes from one village to another creating very bad things & disturbances—As the Little Face, Chief of this village of the little Picanno is not here; he gave us power to act in his absence.

A True Copy taken by me this 13th day of January 1790.

Henry Hay.

Very fine warm day, Rather inclined to raine—

This day Mr. Lassell sent of[f] a messenger to the Grie desiring his presence at this place immediately. This has been a very curious matter altogether—However Mr. Leith and myself are of opinion that one Persons name has been taken for the other. There is one Fouché a french man, who has no doubt acted exactly in this manner as Mr. Lassell was Represented to us to have acted, on the 1st. Instance. Mr. Lassell nor does any of us believe that The Grie had anything to do with it, quite the contrarie, we are of opinion its some other Indians who has an antipathy against Mr. Lassell & who changed the name of Fouché to his, purposely to hurt him, and that those Indians made use of the Gries name in hopes of carrying on the matter to their wish.

A great thaugh this day—

14th. *Thursday.* Very fine day—a little frost last night; In consequence of the great thaugh we had yesterday the snow has melted off the Ice & the Water coming over it froze so hard last night, that it afforded me the pleasure of Skating upon the River this morning—Turned out a very warm beautiful day—Thaw's a good deal and I'm afraide will carry off the Ice.—Wrote the Major⁴⁹ this day an account of Mr. Lassells arrival at this place and every thing respecting his affairs as mentioned in this Journal yesterday.

⁴⁹ Major Murray, commandant at Detroit.

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15th. *Friday.* Rain'd very hard most part of the night, Very high wind, &c. A very disagreeable day—a little frost this morning which makes it very slippery. I never experienced such an Evening as this at this time of the year—It began to Thunder & Lightening about 6 o'clock, Then it began to Blow & Raine as if heaven and earth was coming together which lasted till about 11 o'clock.

16th. Played cards last night at Mr. Dufrenes in Company with all the principal People of the Village, did not come home untill this morning about 4 o'clock rather Drunkish—Froze hard about day breake—Rather an obscure day, not very cold.—

This day the Grie arrived about 2 o'clock. This Evening Mrs. Adamher and Mrs. Ranjard made a Bouquet which we all Presented to Mr. Dufresne in Honor of St. Antoine, he bearing that name—It was then carried from that to Mr. Adamher, Mr. Rivarre, Mr. Barthelmies, Mr. Selerons & then back again to Mr. Dufresne we danced in each house, the Ladies being with us.

17th. Froze hard last night—Most beautifull day.—This evening we had a Dance at Mr. Dufrenes by Mr. Anto'n Lassells invitation were all the Descent Ladies of this place were Present.—Signified to the Canadians this day my wish for them to fire three Vollies to morrow in consequence of its being Her Majesties Birth Day, which they unanimously assented to, to my utmost expectations.

18th. Jan'y. Her Majestys Birth Day.⁵⁰ God Bless her—We accordingly fired three Vollies as was proposed yesterday. I gave them the word of Command myself—Posted Mr. Adamher as an Officer on the Right & Mr. de Seleron on the left—Gave the young fellows a Gallon of Rum—a bottle to the Grie at his own Request—The Snake⁵¹ & some of the Principal Shawanias are here—I made them & the Grie acquainted with the Reason of the Rejoicing.

About 2 o'clock this afternoon I was apprized by Mr. J. B.

⁵⁰ The birthday of Queen Charlotte of England was May 19. I am unable to suggest an explanation of Hay's apparent error in this respect.

⁵¹ The Snake was chief of a band of Shawnee whose village in 1792 was in the vicinity of Grand Glaize. O. M. Spencer, who saw him on the occasion of a visit to Blue Jacket, describes him as "a plain, grave chief, of sage appearance". *op. cit.*, 29.

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Lassell that the young Canadian Volunteers intended to come & thank me & give me a Vollie in the front of the House—I immediately went home & they appeared in about a $\frac{1}{4}$ of an hour to my great surprise with a Drum & the fiddle we had in the morning; they were headed by one of the Serjeants I made in the morning.—After they had fired their Volley, they begged I would head them & march to the Houses of Mr. Adamher Mr. Seleron & Mr. Leith to pay them the same compliment which I did.—I proposed to Mr. Leith that he and I should give dance this Evening which he assented to, consequently Mr. Ironside & myself immediately went round to all the Ladies & Gentlemen of the place and invited them.

19th Sunday. I never enjoyed myself at a Dance better than I did last night. The Gentlemen & Ladies all appeared dressed in their best bibs & Tuckers, & behaved very descently not one of the men the least in Liquor, & which is mostly the case in this place when they collect together—As Mr. Leith never walks a minuet I opened the Ball with Mrs. Adamher—When Mrs. A.—entered the room I desired the fiddler to play, *God save the King*. I made Tangrie for the Ladies, and Grogg for the Gentlemen. Between 10 & 11 o'clock we gave them Coffee, which Mrs. Adamher was so good as to make for us.—We danced some *Dance Ronby*, one particularly a very curious one—It was sung by Mrs. Rangard, the chorus was rather Bawdie—that is a good double intendre which was—Avee sons grand viesous viesous, avec sons grandpasse partous—at the end of the first chorus; the plant a foot, the 2d two feet—the 3d a knee the 4 both knees, 5th and elbow, 6th bothe, 7th your head and 8th your bomb—so that the last summons the whole up—your right foot plant, then left, 1 knee, 2d knee, 1 elbow, 2d elbow, your head & your bombe

As this is three nights now that I have danced, I find myself very tired this morning, my feet much swelled—And what with dancing, catching cold & given the word of Command yesterday I am quite hoarse.—I forgot to mention that yesterday was rather a disagreeable day—very muddy, misty, & now & then a little raine—began to Snow last night about 11 o'clock.—This is a very mild day.—Rather cloudy & Thick.—Mr. Lassell sett

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off this morning for Little Piconno, The Grie & Blue Jackett also for their different wintering Camps.

One Robidos a french man which Mr. Lassell sends express to Detroit, is likewise sett off this day.

Mr. Adamher & Mr. De Seleron made their appearance at the Ball with very fine fur caps on their heads, adorned with a quantity of Black Ostridge Feathers—Cockades made with white tinsell Ribbon, amasingly large—As their was a great deal of Mudd—Mrs. Payette who is an extraordinary large woman was sent for in a Carte, accompanied by her Husband & Daughter—Began to Snow again about 10 o'clock.— & Continued till the evening. Spent this Evening at Mrs. Cicotts in Company with Mrs. and Miss Payette.

20th *Wednesday*. Began to blow excessively hard last night about 11 or 12 o'clock—froze very hard; this is the coldest day we have had yett. Payed a few visits this morning and Dined sans ceremonie, with Mr. Dufresne.—Went and drank coffee about 4 o'clock this afternoon with Mrs. Adamher; The cold seem to increase as the sun setts.

21 *Thursday*. Froze very hard & excessively cold all night.—Something milder this morning—The Suns out which makes the weather very fine over head.—It became rather cloudy & thick about 10 o'clock, & in the Evening a very large ring round the moon—however about 8 o'clock it cleared up & began to freeze pretty smart but not so cold as yesterday-night.

22 *Friday*. Very fine day, not the least cold. It Thaws a good deal.—Young Mr. Lassell caught a Rabbit this morning in one of the snares he had laide for the purpose.

Several Putewatomies arrived this afternoon with Peltry & a great quantity of meat—viz. Venison, Rackoons, Porcupine, Bare & Turkeys &c. the most of which Mr. Abbott bought; the Blanket its what the Indians want most at present & no one else except Mr. Dufresne has any at this Post but Mr. Abbott.—Beautiful Evening, not the least cold.

23 *Saturday*. Most beautifull day, quite warme—Scated about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour this morning on the River. Thaws a good deal which will soon carry off what little snow we have on the ground.

The Grie & Son arrived this afternoon from his wintering camps—He immediately sent for Mr. Ironside & me; when we

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went to him, he addressed himself to me—Son says he, here is my Son your Brother who has brought you a little meat to make you some broth which he begs you will accept, I should not say he have come myself, but my Son who is very bashfull asked me to come with him.

24th Sunday. Very fine day, quite warm but dirty under foot owing to the great thawings.

We played cards & supped at Mr. Adamher's last night, there was a good many Gentlemen there. The Gries Son's present consisted of four Turkeys, two legs and two sides of Venison exceedingly fatt. Sent a Turkey in a present to Mrs. Adamher—The Gries & Son breakfasted with us this morning according to invitation.

25th Monday. Very fine day—Froze hard last night. Spent the last Evening at Mrs. Scicotts—Mrs. Payett & Daughter were there—Mr. B. Lassell, Francis Lassell⁵² & Mr. J. B. Richerville & myself went together—the fiddler came in about 7 o'clock and we danced 'till about 1/2 past 9 o'clock, then we broke up—took Mrs. Payett home & played her the Cuckold March. From there we adjourned to Mr. J. B. Lassells with the fiddler, where we drank Grogg, & from there we went and Serenaded the young girls & women of the Village.

Turned out cloudy & Gloomy about 12 o'clock and continued so 'till the Evening & most part of the night—

26th. No frost last night. This morning early it began to blow very hard & Snowed a little—Played cards last night at Mrs. Cicotts & serenaded the women again about 11 o'clock. Mr. Adamher informed me this [day] that a letter came to him yesterday directed to the Gries and to the Pishew (this last is Mr. J. B. Richerville) from the Porcupine & Soldier Chief of La Riviere a Languielle, telling them to have an eye over their young men & not to believe any false reports that goes about the country, that everything with respect to Lassell was totally false, & for the future not to believe those false reports, that they may depend upon it when ever any thing occurs they would

⁵² Francis Lasselle was a nephew of Antoine; his father, Jacques Lasselle was Indian agent at Miamitown from 1776 until 1780. When La Balme attacked the place in the latter year he fled by boat down the Maumee River with his family.

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send notice of it themselves, and never to hearken to any thing any one says except when it comes from people of character and chiefs who may be depended upon—for they cannot tell a Lye—

The Grie breakfasted with us this morning & went off immediately after for his wintering camp. Begins to freeze about 2 o'clock. a very fine Evening.

27th. *Wednesday*. Very fine day—froze very hard all Night; left off blowing about 8 o Clock last night. We had a little hopp last night at Mr. Adamhers sans ceremonie. Turned out thick & cloudy about 1 or 2 o Clock—and about 5 began to blow very fresh—freeze hard and a little Snow—The *Gros Loup* (a Mo-hicken Indian who has lived amongst the Miamies ever since his Infancy,) gave me a love letter which he picked up in some place or other—Its dated New Madrid, May 6th, 1789 signed by J. S. Story and directed to Miss Betsey Gray, Ipswich Massechusech.

This is my mothers Birth day—God bless her—42 years of age.⁵³

28th. *Thursday*. A very bitter cold day, froze hard all night. Yesterday Evening arrived here a Mr. Lafontaine⁵⁴ a Trader who left this about 36 days ago—He went down the Wabache River then turned into the woods towards White River & their traded with the Indians.—he made 80 Deer Skins and about 500 Raccoons.—which he brought upon the horses he took out his goods upon—however he did not trade all his goods away, for he fetch'd some back—Its very extraordinary that meat was so difficult to be had that he & the Indian that was with him were

⁵³ Marie Julie Reaume was born at Detroit in 1748. She married Jehu Hay and became the mother of several children in addition to our journalist. She died at Detroit, March 23, 1795. In 1793 Henry Hay petitioned for 5000 acres of land by way of a pension for his mother, which was granted. See *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XX, 691; XXIV, 557.

⁵⁴ Probably Francis La Fontaine, who had been engaged in the Indian trade at Miamitown at least since 1780. According to La Balme's information, La Fontaine was then in charge of the warehouse of Charles Beaubien, the principal trader of the place. Beaubien had married the mother of J. B. Richardville, the Marie Louisa of Hay's Journal. Enraged over the plundering of their warehouse, Beaubien and La Fontaine incited the Indians to make the attack upon La Balme which resulted in the destruction of his little force. La Fontaine had a son, Francis, who married a daughter of Richardville and upon the death of that chieftain in 1841 succeeded him as chief of the Miami.

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five days feeding on acorns on their return home. The fifth day in the Evening he sent the Indian on the look-out for Indian hutts to purchase meat, who fell in with a large Rackoon Tree which we cutt down & found five in it, which was a great resource; nothing extraordinary in the Indian Country.

29th. *Friday*. Exceedingly cold all night, rather cloudy & thick this morning, about 10 'Clock began to snow.—Messrs. Adamher, Dufresne & La Fontenne played cards here last night—Turned out rather milder this afternoon; about 8 o'clock this Evening it began to blow & Snow very hard—The snow drifted a good deal—The wind did not continue long.

30th. *Saturday*. Very fine day over head—a great deal of Snow fell this last night—Not quite so cold as yesterday morning.—Began to freeze about 5 o'clock this evening—very clear sky.

31st. *Sunday*. Mild snowy morning, took a ride on a carriolle this day with Mr. J. B. Richerville, as far as Mr. James Girtys House which is about two miles.—Several Indians arrived this day from different places with peltry—This afternoon about 4 or 5 o'clock arrived here Mr. George Girty from his wintering camp with two loaded horses of Peltry. Brought with him his wife & two sisters in law (*Indians*)—He confirms the intention of Delawares going to the Spaniards in the spring, but says not many of them. Snowed the whole blessed day & part of the Evening.

1st *February*. Monday. Snowy morning & very mild. Mr. G. Girty returned this day to his camp; Mr. Ironside accompanied him & returned in the evening with his horses loaded with Peltry.—The Snow did not continue—very gloomy day—Mr. James Girty⁵⁵ told me this Evening that Capt. Johnny Chief of the Shawanees was collecting all the Indians together to a Grande Council—He also shew'd me a red scalp which he got from a Delaware Indian; the meaning of this Scalp he does not know as yet, but it seems it must be sent in to Detroit by the first opportunity.

⁵⁵ On James Girty see *supra* note 36. For a comprehensive sketch of his career, see Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense on Upper Ohio*, 234, 235. O. M. Spencer gives an unpleasing account of Girty's brutality toward him while a captive at Grand Glaize in 1792. *op. cit.*, 43.

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2d *Tuesday*. Frooze exceedingly harde last night—Cold & Snowy morning—Turned out a very fine Sun Shiny day about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 1 o'Clock—Still continues to freeze hard—Wind N. Several Ottawas came in this morning from hunting, & brought their furr with them—Mr. Cicotts man arrived this morning from their excursion to la Riviere a L'anguille. Left Mr. Cicott about three Leagues from here, his Horse having given out; This man is to return to him immediately with a fresh one. Mr. Abbott, a Trader, of this place one of our disaffected subjects has been I'm told trying to traduce his brother Traders, by telling the Indians that every trader here was a Soldiar that the Good[s] they had was not theirs & that they were selling for other people—but, says he is quite different with me every thing that I have here is my own & I owe no one anything whatsoever—

It seems that he collected some Indians this day at his House & told them that every Trader here has a pass & that they were obliged to have one, but as for him he had no such thing as a Pass. (*which by the by is the case*).⁵⁶ I'm further informed that he spoke to the Indians of Major Murray & Capt. McKee in so disrespectfull a manner that they are determined to send Strings of Wampum into Detroit immediately to informe them of it. There is several other things that has passed which has not as yet to come to my ears. Mr. Cicott arrived about 3 o Clock this afternoon.

3d. *Wednesday*. Froze very hard all last night—Cold morning Wind N. Rather thick over head. Spent the Evening last night at Mr. Dufresne's played cards.—Mr. Abbott proposed my going with him as a Companion in the Spring to Port Vincennes—I told him I could not think of venturing my Carcass to such a place as that, among a parcel of renegards—This day about 12 o Clock arrived here Mr. Kinzie from Detroit which he left the 23d of last month—Received a letter from Major Murray and another from my Brother—also one from the

⁵⁶ For a contemporary account by William Robertson of the practice of issuing passes to those wishing to trade out of Detroit see *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XI, 639. Robertson stated that at that time, (1788) passes were no longer required. Hay's statements on the subject seem to contradict this.

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Glaize from Mr. Sharpe acquainting me of his being obliged to leave my horse at that place as he had given out; and was in a bad condition—However Mr. Kinzie informs me that he's in a fair way at present owing to the good care of Mr. McDonnell who stays at the Glaize.—

Mr. Kinzie tells me the Major is very well pleased with my conduct, for having informed him of what passed at this place & a great deal of party work at Detroit, Damn'd glad I'm not amongst them. I look upon it that I'm far better off at this place, tho' ever so much out of the World. Haile and Raine this Evening about 7.

4th. *Thursday*. Snowed and froze hard from 12 o'clock last night & till this morning early—Began to snow again about 8 o'clock & still continues. Cleared up about 3 o'clock this afternoon—freezes hard this Evening, Very Windy. Several Indians, (Principally Shawnee) arrived this Evening with a quantity of Peltry. The Snake has passed three days with us here—He returned to his Camp this afternoon.—As we began some few days ago to establish a society, call'd the Most Light Honorable Society of the Monks, we have this Evening compleated it—Mr. Leith is appointed Grand Master and Commisary—Hay Secretary, J. B. Richerville, J. B. Lassell, Francis Lassell, Geo. Ironside & J. Kinzie, La Chambre, Musician to the Society. Rules are to be drawn out for which hereafter no one will be allowed to be a member without he gives his Honor that he will truely & voluntarily stick by them, and support them with all his might &c &c &c.

5th. *Friday*. Little snow this morning early. Rather thick over head. The weather much milder; but still pretty cold—Saw Mr. Cicott yesterday—nothing in that part of the Indian Country that he's been in.—Turned faire about $\frac{1}{2}$ past ten o Clock. The sun out.—Mr. Ironside & James, Girty are gone down this afternoon to the Shawanee's village about 3 miles from here to try & get their peltry.

Turned exceedingly cold about 12 o'clock—Very high wind—N. W. Mr. J. B. Richervilles mother arrived this day from her wintering camp—Went & paid her a visit about 1 OClock—She has been a handsome woman—

6th. *Saturday*. Supped last night with J. B. Lassell, Kinzie,

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Richerville & F. Lassell were there—we played cards till ½ past 1 o'clock—Froze much harder & the cold much keener this last night than it has been this winter. Very beautiful Sun Shiny day & quite calme. Very mild Evening.

7th. Sunday. A Little Snow this morning—High wind—S. Quite mild—It Thaws. Snow & very high wind this Evening.

8th. *Monday*. Cold morning—Froze very hard most part of the night. The Rules of our Community (which is now call'd the Friars of St. Andrew) are drawn out by the Grand Master and this day to be copied and translated into French by the Secretary. This Evening Mr. Leith collected the Friars of St. Andrew and made them acquainted with the articles they are to abide by, after which each member got a copy of them.

9th *Tuesday*. Froze very hard all night & exceedingly cold—It continues very cold—altho' the Sun is out. Wind W. and very Strong all day, this day is absolutely the Coldest we have had this winter as far as this, & its the opinion of every one as well as myself.

10th. *Wednesday*. Froze hard last night; Very fine clear day over head, but still very cold. Wind W. but not so strong as yesterday. Not quite so cold this Evening as the last.

11th. *Thursday*. Much milder than yesterday; Rather Cloudy & Thicker over head.—It was an excessive cold night notwithstanding. Visited Mrs. Adamher this afternoon—Copy'd off the two french songs that she made; respecting her Stolen Pigg,—And the Miamies Recollects.

12th. *Friday*. Very fine day over head, Rather colder than yesterday, Not very cold this last night; it began to freeze hard about day breake. This afternoon arrived here one Clairemont from the Petit Piconno, says Mr. Lassell arrived there about 15 days ago. Nothing extraordinary in that part of the Country—was 8 days on his way here.

13th *Saturday*.—very beautiful day, not the least cold.—Some Indians have lately been near the Ohio—on this side of it it seems they fell in with a Party of Americans, killed some of them & stole their horses, and took a negro Prisoner, one of those Indians a Shawanee who goes by the name of the Horse Jockey was wounded in the breast & hand by his own Tomyhawk which the American had wrested from him. The Indian however got

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the better & killed him. The above account we got several days ago.

This morning about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 oClock a Party of warriors of the Shawanies Nation brought in a Prisoner—They took him on this side of the Ohio at the mouthe of Kentuck.

The Party that took him were out hunting last Spring, during which time some Miamis went to war and returned a different road they went & passed by this hunting party, the Americans pursued them & fell in with the Hunters & killed several of them women & Children &c. one Joseph Sovereigns who had been a Prisoner from his infancy was killed at that place;—These People went out last fall to revenge themselves & took this Prisoner who was out hunting much about the same place w[h]ere their own people were killed. Mess. Leith, Ironside & myself went down to the Chilicothe village of Shawanese⁵⁷—They were then in council—that is the young man who took the Prisoner was given a very minute Report of all what passed—which they are obliged to do—This party is not of this village, they belong to the Messessinoue⁵⁸ Village. The Reason for bringing him here is, that he's given to a man of this village.

Little Raine & Sleete this afternoon, turned out Snow this Evening.

14th. *Sunday*. Very disagreeable day. It thaws very much. —The Prisoner will not be hurt—Black Bairde Chiefe of the Chilicothe Village is not at home; Theire will be a ceremony whe[n] he arrives to adopt this Prisoner—I forgot to mention that when they came in with him yesterday, he held in his hand a Shishequia which he kept ringing in his hand. (its made of deer's hoofs) singing out lowde the words *Oh Kentuck*. His face was painted as black as Divils—which will be rubbed off as soon as he is adopted by one of the Roy'l Family—He'll be washed & cleaned up &c. When they came into the Town they stopped at a French mans house—Several Indians of their acquaintance went up to them & shook hands with them & the Prisoner, which was a good sign respecting the latter;—For we were apprehensive that they would burn him, as they went to war upon a revenge. They have its seems got a good many

⁵⁷ Two miles below Miamitown.

⁵⁸ The modern Mississinewa.

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Horses this Trip.—Mr. Kinzie & Mr. James Girty went down this afternoon to see this Prisoner; Kinzie informed him that he need not be upon any apprehension for his life & that he was very lucky in being in the hand that he was; Kinzie asked him where he was borne he answered Richmond in Virginia, that he left that place a little better than a month that he came thro' the Wilderness to Kentucky to get a debt that was due him in that Country that he was Several days in Kentucky—& not more than two at the mouth of the River, when he was proposed by two other young men to cross the Ohio & hunt Turkey saying there was a great number of them, they had not been crossed but a very little time after separating themselves in different parts of the wood, when he perceived the other two making for the River, he did the same, but too late for they had already got into the Canoe & were actually crossing over, he attempted to take the woods but could not, the Indians had him between them & the River, however he tryed what he could do, & attempting to look round he received a knock in the forehead with a War Billet, (which was thrown by one of the Indians with an intention of hitting him in the Neck) he was immediately seized by another Indian, the other called out not to hurt him; which they did not.—The Chiefe who was out hunting heard of a prisoner being taken sent word immediately that he should not be hurt—Its about fifteen days ago since he was taken—They have washed his face—but not his boddy, which will be done & also cleanly dressed when the Chiefe (Black Bairde) arrives, a Belt of Wampums is now making which will be thrown over his head when he's adopted & which he'll ware. He's being lately from Virginia shews very plainly that he was not in the action last Spring, and that some evil minded people who wanted to hurt him in the mind of the Indians—He's quite a young man, his name is McMullen.

15th. Monday. Rained, Hailed, Thunder'd & Lightened about day breake this morning as if heaven & Earth was coming together—Still Rains—Did not raine much after 10 o'Clock, but Springkled which made it very dis-grable—The weather much changed, we were obliged to open the windows almost all day.—Dined with J. B. Richerville in company with J. B. Lassell, F. L. & Kinzie.

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16th *Tuesday*. What with Thaw & Raine the Snow is almost off the Grounde. Rained pretty smart this morning—Rained very hard all day—

17th *Wednesday*. Yesterday being *Mardi Gras* the Friars of St. Andrew, supped together at Mr. Richervilles. Mr. Ironside being unwell could not come. They sang a good many songs & retired to their cells in good time—The water has risen exceedingly this last night—at least 12 feet. Breakfasted this morning at Mr. J. B. Richervilles—Rained most part of the night.

18th. *Thursday*. Water much higher, it now runs thro the Village in such a manner that it separates it in three parts—the place that it runs in at, is quite rappid; This part of Village is quite low & small rising ground on each side, occasioned by the great flood last year, when it seems the people were obliged to desert their houses & take for the Rising Hills in the woods & their encamp. The water is now within two feet of being level with the bank of the River which is not less than eighteen feet high, the River is at present about twice as broad as it was, before the water began to rise Weather quite Milde *but Cloudy*. Water enough in the River for the Rebecca⁵⁹ to Swim in. The rappid so very strong, that its as much as two men can do to bring up a Canoe.

We are obliged to make use of Peerogues or Canoes to go to see those people who live on the other two Islands occasioned by the water—Sun shined about 4 o’Clock, turned a beautifull Evening untill about 8 or 9 o’Clock when it became Cloudy & Thick. After sun sett Mr. Leith, Ironside, Kinzie & myself and some french men, carried a long flatt piece of Timber & placed it across the narrowest part of the run & fall which enters from the River for the purpose of crossing more at our ease, as we are often obliged to be going backwards & forwards from our house to that of Mr. Leiths—it makes a very good Bridge.

19th. *Wednesday*. Raine this morning early—Pretty smart—a thin sleety raine continues which makes it very disagreeable—Rather a Raw day. Water still Rising. This afternoon about

⁵⁹ The “Rebecca” was a government armed vessel of 136 tons, built at Detroit in 1782. When used as a merchant vessel she carried a complement of 15 men; when equipped as a war vessel, 35 men. *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XXIV, 12.

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2 o'clock arrived here from Detroit one *Jerome* a french man in Mr. Leiths employ with a Horse load of Blanketts and Robedoux who left this for Detroit 19th. Jany on Mr. A. Lasells affairs—They came as far as Roche de Bout in Slays—Received letters from my Brother, Meredith, Baby & Mr. Robertson—the last respecting one Chevalier at Petit Piconno, which Mr. Robertson had heard was dead, but no such thing. The ice began to float down the River about 3 o'Clock this afternoon but soon stopped. 8 o'Clock the River is quite choacked up with Ice & the water Rising very fast, its now equal with the Banks of the river. 9 o'Clock some of the Ice entirely over one part of the Bank.—My Horse which Mr. Sharpe left at the Glaize is dead,—not owing to the fatigue he got, but a small worme which has killed a great number of Horses—he was fatt when he died. Played cards at Mr. Dufresne's this Evening, with Mr. & Mrs. Adamher.

20th *Saturday*.—Began to raine this morning about day breake excessively hard & left off about 8 or 9 o'Clock—A great fogg this morning. Our bridge across the Run carried off—The Ice has totally choaked up the entrance of Run so much that it answers in lieu of the bridge, the River is choaked up in the same manner, a Person might easily cross the River upon it.—Fogg cleared up about 10 o'Clock & began to blow pretty fresh—. Went to Mr. Cicotts this day to inform myself Respecting Piere Chevallier trader at Tipiconno for Mr. Robertson, from one Cleremont who lately came from that place but he could not give me so good an account of him as Mr. Cicott who went there himself this winter—he says some time in December last this Chevallier was robbed by the Potuwatomie Indians, in the night when asleep owing to his not making his door fast, that he got some of his goods back, and that what they got was not considerable—Mr. Cicott says that its risking Property too much, to let him have it, as he lives in the woods with only one man with him continually exposed to the malice & treachery of the Indians about him— that he means to come to this place very early in the Spring and will send in a few packs to Mr. Robertson.

11 o'Clock. Wind seems to increase— About 3 o'Clock this afternoon the Ice floated down the River & the Run all in a body, I don't think I ever saw a grander sight; a number of Loggs & Trees, stumps of trees &c came down upon it. The River is now

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pretty clear except the run which is full from the mouthe till about halfway. The water which ris immediately on the ice's going, is—now lowering much.—I must observe that a little time before the Ice went off that two Miami Indians walked over it, a third was on his way when the Ice began to move, he was obliged to return immediately; The Ice made a great noise when it came down. The water touched Mr. Payett's step into his house and very near that of Mr. Cicotts— The Ice was by large lumps jumbled up together which occasioned the noise, as they Ran one over the other.—Rather Raw this Evening.—Raine from 7 to 9 o'Clock—

21'' *Sunday*. Beautifull morning. The River quite clear of Ice— The Run still choaked up— Water about four feet lower.— about 10 or 11 o'Clock the Run got clear of Ice. About 1 or 2 o'Clock it began to raine & continued 'till the Evening— A Great deal of Ice came down this afternoon, a good deal of it went thro' the Run—Water rise a good deal this afternoon.— a great quantity of Ice at the bottom of the Run, a great quantity of Wood, Old Trees &c. came down with the Ice this Evening. This evening I was sent for by Mr. J. B. Lassell to be a witness to his marriage with Miss Rivarre. Mr. Adamher, Mr. De Seleron and Mr. Barthelemie were also witness.—

22nd. *Monday*. The finest day I have seen for some time— A good deal of Ice still floating.— The Centre of the Run choaked up.— a great quantity of Trees, Stumps &c. floating down this morning—Froze a little last night. 12 o'Clock—Mr. Leith got the people to make a Bridge with the loggs that floated into the mouthe of the Run—Very little Ice floating at Present.

23rd. *Tuesday*. Damn'd disagreeable day. Rained most Part of the night, Thunder a little at a distance; Snowed about day breake. Yesterday wrote Meredith, Jack Robertson, Wm. Robertson & my Brother, and this morning wrote to Thoms. McKee.⁶⁰ Not the least sign of Ice on the River. Raine most part of the afternoon—Thunder & Lightning about 5 o'Clock, & rained exceedingly hard. Mr. Ironside shewed me how to know when the Lightning & Thunder is near— As soon as it lights you

⁶⁰ Son of Alexander McKee, and for many years in the British Indian Department.

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Count the number of Seconds between it & the thunder, & each second, its 1120 feet off—multiply this by the number of seconds, divide by 3 & it will give you yards and by 1760 & it will give you the distance in miles should it be 10 for.

24th. *Wednesday*. Some time in the night Mr. Kinzie came in to informe us that the water was rising very high that it was already at his Step— He came in again about day breake & told us it was entirely in his House, desired he might bring his apprentices here & also stay himself with us— The water is amazingly high obliged to make use of a canoe to fetch Mr. Leith here, the water rising close to his Door— Mrs. & Miss Payee obliged to fly theire House about 12 o’Clock in the night & take refuge at Mr. Barthelmies, Mr. & Mrs. Cicott were obliged also to go up to their Garrett. Mr. Lorains, Mr. Lafontaine Houses & Mr. Kinzie’s Shopp where he works is an Island of itself. A river runs on each side of them the same at Mr. Leiths, but the last will soon be overflowed— 9 o’Clock, Its at present not far from our own door—Obliged to cut down Picketts & make a road thro the different yards, the Streets and Bank entirely overflowed— Blows excessively hard— Raine most part of the Morning— Our House quite surrounded with water— Runs amazingly in the cellar— Mr. Leith obliged to desert his.— Every House almost in the village is in the same Predicament—we are all obliged to put our trunks & things in the lofte—We are now Prepared for its coming in the House— Mr. Leith & Kinzie put up a stove in the loft of the Company’s House— Mr. Ironside & myself joined them this afternoon— The water came into the house about 3 o’Clock, a good deal came up from the cellar. After Supper which was about 6 o’Clock Mr. Leith returned to his own Garrett. Mr. Ironside & myself got under way in the Canoe to return to our Garrett, but we were very unfortunate, just as we came into the rappidest part of the water, a whirl Pool very near oversett the Canoe, Mr. Ironside who was steering, slipped backwards & fell into the water, the canoe had then greate way & lucky enough arrived close to the upper part of the Picketts of the Grave Yarde which I immediately took hold of & held fast by them standing on the ribbon, pushed the Canoe off immediately with the lads that were in it, who got down the Current in time to save him. He says when the canoe came up to him, he

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was just gone— The lads took him in to one Mr. J. Morris— & came immediately back for me— I got some dry clothes for him at Mr. Adamhers.— Water not rising much.

25th. *Thursday*. Water very little higher than it was— Blue and froze excessively hard this last night— Very fine sun shiny day. As I'm not overfond of Canoes I do not mean to return to the Compys House.—Breakfasted at Mr. Adamhers & I'm engaged to dine there also. 11 o'Clock, Water seemingly Rising—

26th. *Friday*. Very little frost last night.— Gloomy day— Water rose a little last night & is still rising.— Canoes goes thro several yards ever since the day before yesterday. There is not above three Houses that you can walk to without wetting yourself or going in a Canoe. Went in a Pirogue with J. B. Richerville & F. Lassell & paid a visit to Mr. Leith in the Friponne,⁶¹ also to Mrs. Cicott in her Garrett— This last House has at least water half way up to the Garrett Floor— Sun shined about 1/2 past 12 o'Clock. Pd. J. B. Lassell a visit also. The water had obliged Richerville to quit his House & go to his mother's, Her House is very high from the Earthe, which prevents the water coming to it as soon as the others.

27th. *Saturday*. Wind began to blow very hard last night about 10 o'Clock & continued the most part of the night.— Froze very hard— Water lowered a little— Very fine day— 1 o'Clock— Water still falling. High wind this afternoon, S. W. About Sun sett the wind dyed away & it became a perfect Calme; A very beautifull Evening— Water has fallen about 4 inches at least this day.

28th. *Sunday*. Froze very hard last night. Water fallen about 15 Inches since last night. Very finè Sun shiny day— Our floor quite dry—Paid a visit to Mr. Abbott this afternoon

⁶¹ Probably this term is used in the sense of warehouse. Toward the close of the French régime in Canada royal storehouses were established at Quebec and Montreal. Because of the official peculations that developed in connection with their administration both the storehouse at Quebec and the one at Montreal became popularly known as *La Friponne*, or *The Cheat*. See Francis Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe* (Boston, 1885), II, 24. It seems probable that the term passed into more or less general use as the designation for storehouses at the French posts.

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in comp'y with Miss. Adamher, Dufresne & Coco Lassell—from that we went to see Mr. Lafontaine.— Coco got damned drunk— After those visits, J. B. Lassell, J. B. Richerville & Francois Lassell & myself gave the ladys a row upon & down the River, the fiddler played a few tunes and myself on the flute.

1 March. *Monday*. Water has fallen at least two feet since yesterday— Froze hard and snow'd a good deal this morning. 10 o'clock Its now thawing which makes it very dirty & disagreeable— Water still falling very much.— 6 o'clock— Little Raine & Sleete this Evening— The snow entirely gone.

2d. *Tuesday*. Very dark disagreeable day— Water fallen greatly, the Bank entirely dry— but very much worne away— particularly opposite to Blue Jacketts door its not above five or six feet wide—before it was at least 10 or 12. Mr. Leith & Kinzie have moved back to us this morning. Yesterday afternoon Mr. Ironside & Myself moved our baggage down from the Loftes.— This day *The King* of the Shawnee called the (*Wolfe*) Capt. Snake & another Chiefe of the same Nation came to this place—that a meeting should be made of the Principal Traders & Inhabitants of the place, which was done— He then got up and spoke as follows— Fathers & Brothers here assembled, this is to acquaints you that we are now going to gather all our stragglng nation together and build a village a little distance up from here — for which we have to request you will let us have a little Tobacco & Vermillion—by & when our village is Built we shall hold a grand Council & informe you of our Wants— What we want now is to rise the hearts of our young men. And you may be assured you shall lose nothing by it, for we mean to cultivate the land and rase a good deal of corn & will recompense you for your present kindness to us— The people all of a voice announced that they approved very much of theire coming to live together in one place— And gave them what they wanted— The String of Wampum was given to Mr. Adamher— The Chilleothy tribe of Shawaneese who have their village a little distance down from here are not to move.— Raine, Snow & Northerly Wind this afternoon. Snow's and freezes very hard this Evening.

3rd. *Wednesday*. Excessively cold all night & continues to be so—blowed also very hard all night &c Ice floating down the River this morning— Water quite low, the entrance of the Gully

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dry. Amazingly cold all day & blew very hard— Two of the Shawanee Chiefs went off this day; Snake remained— Capt. Johnny came up this day from his Village.

4th. *Thursday*. Froze hard all night. A little snow— not near so colde this morning as yesterday—Rather an obscure day. No wind. Its very curious how the water has rise & spread itself in this Country in about thirty years— There is an old French woman in this place of the name of *Barthelmie* who says she recollects when the banks of the River were so near one to another and consequently the River so narrow, that at low water the children used to jump over it. Seated this morning at the Bottom of the Gully opposite Mrs. Payees. Turned out a very fine afternoon— Thaw's very much. Snake gone home.

5th. *Friday*. Froze hard last night. Windy, dark day— Thaws a good deal. To shew what rascalls their is in this place— one Lucie a Canadian who was in Mr. Abbotts service was seen carrying off a Bundle of Hay this morning by Mr. Leith & J. Forsythe which he stole out of the Friponne, thro' the window.— (The Property of Mr. Leith's) The fellow at first denied it, but when he found there were such convincing proofs against him, he acknowledged it, by saying there was no harme in taking a little Hay. It's some time now that the Hay has been Perceived going damned fast; Mr. Kinzie has at the same time a good deal of property in the said House— Mr. Adamher however has sent him a summons to appear before him at Mr. Leithes desire. The fellow appeared is obliged to get security for his good behaviour hereafter.

Raine most part of the afternoon. This afternoon, the Little Turtle, the Grees wife & Brother arrived here with some other of their family from their wintering & hunting Ground. The Grie has been sick but is now getting better.

6th. *Saturday*. Raine & high wind all night— Very dirty disagreeable darke Clowdy day, Wind blows very hard. 4 o'Clock. Begins to freeze very hard.

7th. *Sunday*. Froze excessively hard all last night.— Very cold Windy day. This morning the Little Turtle, The Gries Brother &c. left this for their home— Sent a pound of Tobacco to the Grie with my Compliments. This afternoon Mr. Leiths pierogue arrived here from Roch de Bout, which left this the 24th Feby.

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8th. *Monday*. An excessive cold day, Wind blows very hard & A great deal of Ice floating down the River. Clowdy & a little Snow in the morning— but turned out very clear in the afternoon.

9th. *Tuesday*. Very fine Sun Shiny day—not so cold as yesterday and very calme. The River full of floating Ice.

Three months this day I left Detroit.

10th. *Wednesday*. Very mild day— Very thick over head—a great deal of Snow fell this last night. This day the Chilicothy young men came down from the place where the The Town is to be built, they have already finished the Council House, which is by all accounts a very long one. This afternoon one Shirelock arrived here from his wintering ground, (he trades for Mr. Leith) in consequence of one Montroills stealing his Property to the amount of Twenty Eight Bucks he has brought the fellow with him— This Montroille is a fellow who has abandoned himself totally & lives amongst the Indians, those kind of people are of the worst, they are very pernicious to the Trade who fill the Indians Heads with very bad notions & think nothing of Robbin the Traders Property; when they have an opportunity, such Rascalls ought to be dealt with very severely and totally excommunicated from the Indian Country.

11th. *Thursday*. Rather cold this morning, but still thick and Clowdy over head. Montroille appeared this morning who ownes the deed. Shirelock told him it was no more of his business that the property he robbed was Mr. Leiths & that it lay in his Breast what should be done to him— He makes great promises and says that he will hire himself to Mr. Leith & work out what he Robbed; Mr. Ironside told him he would speake to Mr. Leith about it. I believe this matter is now settled the man is to work out the value of what he stole— Turned out a very fine day about 12 O'Clock.

12th. *Friday*. Sott up all night with Mr. Adamher & some more Gentlemen at Mr. Lorrains who has been very ill near Eight months. He fell in a kind of a Trance last Tuesday afternoon about 4 o'Clock and continued so untill this day at 12 oClock and died—during the time he was in this situation he took no nourishment whatever, his Eyes were shut, had no hearing, kept constantly blowing & now & then coughed a little.—

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He was the oldest Inhabitant of this Place & Environs, he has been here &c 40 years⁶²—

Very disagreeable dirty day, It thaws very much. A good deal of Raine this Evening.

13th. *Saturday*. Very fine day, but very muddy & dirty under foot; Blows excessively hard. Mr. Lorain was buried this day. The young Volunteers of the place gave him three Vollies at the request of some of the Pincipal People here, in Honor to his services rendered to the King of Great Britains, and long Residence in this place. I shewed them how to Proceed respecting the manouvers, the word of Command was given by one Vivie who has been a Drummer in the late 84th. Regt. 1 B'n

14th. *Sunday*. Very beautifull day quite calme—Froze a little last night & a little snow before day Breake. This day Mr. Geo. Girty came down from his wintering Camp. Snake came down also to day from his village, he dined and got very drunk at Mr. Abbotts. It seems that that Gentleman wants Snake to accompany him to the Post, but he'll find himself mistaken for the other would not go with him upon any account.

15th. *Monday*. Very fine day, a little frost last night—Wind rather high.— Sherlock & Geo. Girty returned this day to their wintering place. Turned thick & Clowdy about 1 oClock— and quite calme— A very dark Evening.

16th. *Tuesday*. Rained most part of the night—Thunder at a Distance, about day breake—A great number of Pigeons flying about this morning. Very calme but clowdy & thick. Began to Raine about 11 oClock & continued all day— The water has rose a good deal since last night.

17th. *Wednesday*. St. Patrick's— Rained excessively hard all night & still continues to raine a little— Water rose since last night at least ten feet & still rises very fast, it now runs into the Gully— Blows pretty fresh. I'm much afraide that we shall have a second flood. Left off raining about 11 or 12 o'Clock.

⁶² The census of 1769 includes Lorraine's name among the nine heads of families then at Miamitown. In 1763 he, or another of the same name, was at Ouiatanon when the savages overpowered the English garrison. Lorraine and another Frenchman were instrumental in saving the lives of the captives. See Indiana Historical Society, *Pubs.*, II, 335, 440.

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Turned out a very fine afternoon and Evening. *Sent Mr. Abbott a String of Potatoes.*

18th. *Thursday.* Raw, Cloudy day. Froze very hard last night. Water has rose very high. even with the bank— Mr. Payees People obliged to quit theire House— and its equal with the step of Kinzie & Cicotts doors. However I believe the Frost will stop its progress. Cleared up about 10'Clock and turned out a very fine afternoon & Evening; Water still rose all day, altho' there was a Frost, — about a foot.

19th. *Friday.* Very beautifull day; Froze hard last night. Water has rose very little, Its almost at a stand.— Water began to fall a little this afternoon—

20th *Saturday.* Very fine morning, rather heazy. Wind at S. warme; Very little Frost last night, the water had fallen about 5 inches & better since yesterday afternoon.

21st. *Sunday.* Very beautifull day. Quite warme & Calme— Not the least frost last night; The water falls very slowly, not a foot since yesterday. A party of Shawanees arrived from war at their village the 19th instant.— They have brought three Prisoners & a negro man. It seems that another party of them attacked a boat wherein there was an officer & about 21 men. They killed every one of them; Sank the Boat & hid every utensill they found in it, in the woods. They also took nineteen persons near Limestown which they have all Prisoners except 2 or 3. The first party were the Chilicothy People — & the others the Picowees. One of the above Prisoners told Mr. Kinzie this morning the General St. Claire came down the Ohio, to the Bigg Miami, about Christmas last. This man's name is John Witherington, comes from a place called Limestown. They also got a great quantity of Linnen out of this Boat— It seems that their was several other parties out, some of the Catawas or Cherokees were out also; at any rate their was at least 40 souls taken & killed. This John Witherington's family is separated from him, he has a wife 7 months gone with childe & 7 children, which some of the other Parties have got Prisoners.⁶³

22 *Monday.* Cloudy morning, very hard shower of Raine in the course of the Night; Very calme— water falls so very

⁶³ For accounts of similar raids upon the Americans in the vicinity of Cincinnati at this time see *Amer. St. Papers, Ind. Affs.*, I, 86-91.

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slowly that its hardly perceivable—The Miamias of the opposite side danced from 7 o'clock last Evening untill this morning at day break; they were taken in what they call their *Natt*, which is with them, like the Colours of a Regiment, with us; they take it out to war with them, and when they return, there is a ceremony of taken it into the Council House, Chiefs House or Place where they keep their Trophies. It seems that this *Natt* has been out ever since last fall. This custom prevails amongst all the Indian Nations. But there are a number of Tribes who have not those *Natts*.

23rd. *Tuesday*. Cloudy day. Quite calm & not the least cold— A little rain last night— water fallen a good deal since yesterday.— An Indian, a Miami arrived last Evening from the Post, brought a letter to Mr. L. Dubois from one Pennet Gamlains, Notary Public of that place; Nothing extraordinary in that part of the Country; the Garrison consists of upward of one Hundred men, & officers &c. This Indian has passed the winter about the Environs of Post Vincennes.

Their seemingly is a very great want of Provisions in that place— the Garrison the same, They are obliged to kill the cattle belonging to the settlers.⁶⁴

24th. *Wednesday*. Very Cloudy morning, but turned out a very fine day about 12 or 1 o'clock. Water fallen greatly; The Gully clear of water, but very muddy— Geo. Girty returned this day from the woods. One John Thompson who was taken amongst the 19 mentioned the 21st Instant— came here this day— He informed me that there was a great talk of raising men to come against the Ind's; However General St. Clair who is now at the Bigg Miami with two boat loads of goods, means to call the Indians together at a Council at Post Vincennes— But if the Indians do not come to a settlement with them, they mean to fight them. He says that he understood about Christn—[torn] A War was [torn] between [four leaves missing] this morning of which a description is here with inserted in this Paper— Waited upon all the people of ye place this morning, and bid them farewell. Dined at Mr. Adamhers & received the letters of that family, thanked them for the politeness and attention

⁶⁴ During the winter of 1789–90 the inhabitants of Vincennes were in a condition bordering upon starvation. See Dunn, *Indiana*, 269.

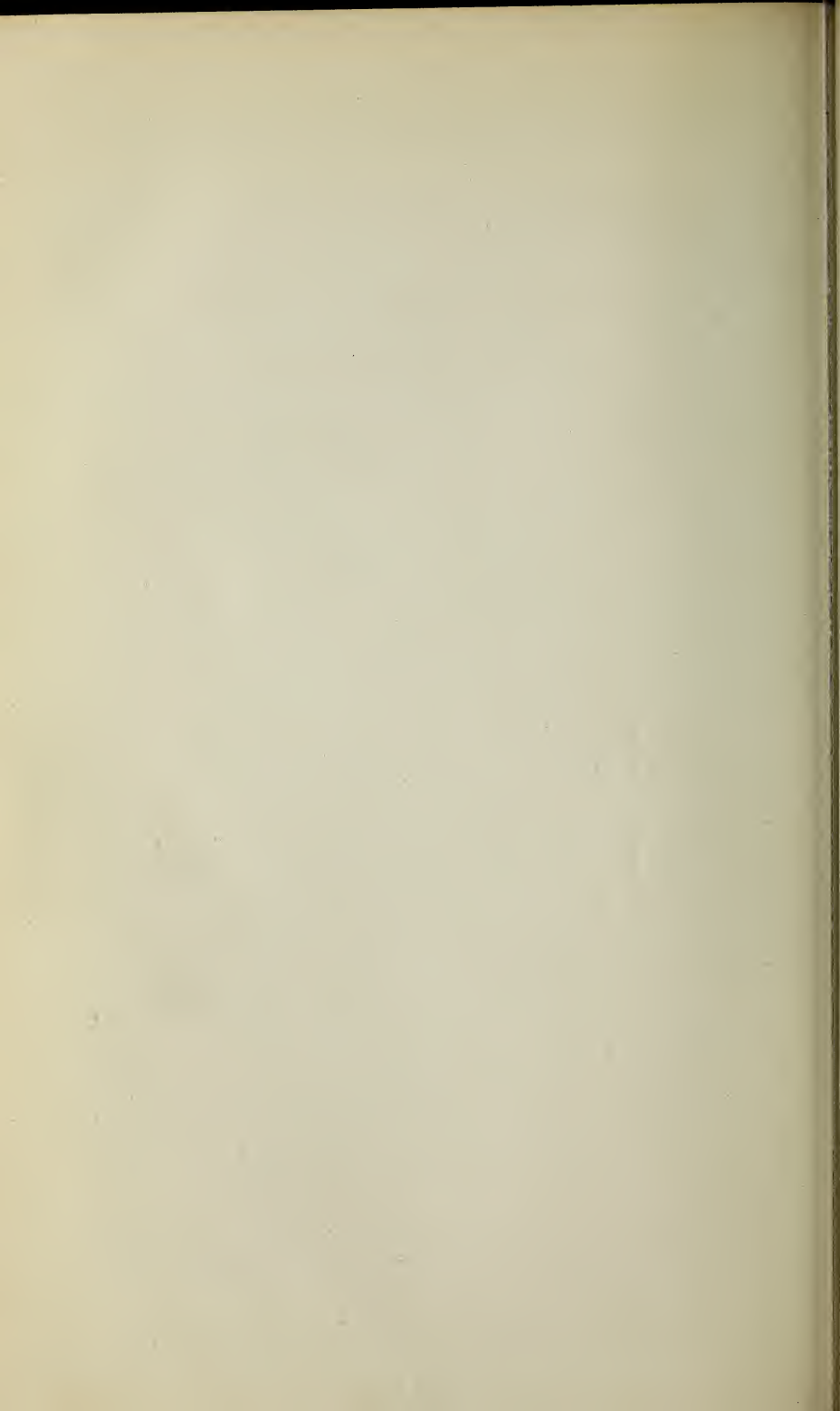
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they paid me during my stay at the Miamies. Settled with Marie Louisa, respecting a Horse which she is to purchase and send in to me by her son Mr. J. B. Richerville. Left the Miamis about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12 oClock. had the pleasure at the same time of being told by Mr. & Mrs. Adamher that I was much regretted by every one in the village. Stopped about 9 leagues below the Miamis abt 5 oClock in the afternoon; stopped a leake in our Peerogue, made a fire and put up our tent; Began to raine about 4 oClock; Rained very hard almost all the night.

2d April *Friday*. About $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 oClock got under way, the Rain being over & moon lighte. Stopped at 11 leagues below the place we slept at last night; at the Indian Wigwaum from whom we got the Rackoon last fall going out; The two frenchmen that are with us bought some sugar for Tobacco— The Ind'n gave Mr. Leith & me a large piece, for which we gave him some Bread in return; Mr. Leith promised to send him some Tobacco. Arrived at the Glaize at Mr. McDonnells about 4 oClock this afternoon — which is 30 Leagues from the Miami Town. Just before sun sett Messrs. Sheppard & Sharpe arrived from Detroit, they left their Peerogue in the morning and walked up— They left Detroit the 24th. March. As they left the letters in the Pierogue we can not get them till tomorrow morning.

3d. *Saturday*. I cannot help mentioning how very hospitably we were received by Mr. McDonnell who gave us the best he had— he was also so obliging as to give me several cakes of Mapell Sugar one of which is for Richard with his Compliments— he likewise gave me a few Turkey wings. We parted with him & Messrs. Shepherd & Sharpe about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 oClock. Met with Mr. Shepherds pierogue about 2 leagues below the Glaize Mr. Leith took his letter out of Mr. Shepherds Trunk & I took one from my Brother out of Mr. Sharpes, agreeable to their desire— Arrived at Mr. J. Cochrans about $\frac{3}{4}$ past 5 o'clock which is 15 leagues from the Glaize. Stopped a little & got a little maderia & grogg, from where proceeded down the Rapids,⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Apparently the concluding portion of the Journal has been destroyed. In its present condition it closes abruptly at this point.



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